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THREE ENGLISH BLUESTOCKINGS VISIT GERMANY

By Daniel V. Hegeman, University of Kentucky

Not least among the eighteenth century's claims to distinction is the fact that it produced for the first time in human history the intellectual emancipation of woman on a large scale. To be sure, individual women from the days of Sappho and the Queen of Sheba had obtained eminence in the arts and as rulers, but they had been rare and isolated phenomena. As the eighteenth century progressed, it became the rule rather than the exception for women to seek distinction in fields that had previously been considered purely masculine domains. For instance, in the Seven Years' War (1756-63), the Empresses Maria Theresa of Austria and Elizabeth of Russia, and Madame Pompadour of France guided the negotiations that led to the outbreak of hostilities against King Frederick II of Prussia. In literature the end of the eighteenth century saw the emergence of such personalities as Mary Wollstonecraft and Frances Burney in England, Madame de Staël in France, and Sophie von La Roche in Germany.

It must not be assumed that the rise of woman to an intellectual parity with man was accomplished rapidly or without opposition. As late as 1714 Alexander Pope in his dedication of *The Rape of the Lock* to Arabella Fermor could use these condescending words: "I know how disagreeable it is to make use of hard words before a lady; but 'tis so much the concern of a poet to have his works understood, and particularly by your Sex, that you must give me leave to explain two or three difficult terms."

Dr. Johnson's derogatory opinion of women as preachers is familiar to every student of this period. The Age of Enlightenment could never quite decide whether to acknowledge women as human beings entitled to a full share of the benefits of the new gospel of Humanity, or to justify their inferior position by the familiar appeal to the ancient authorities, in this case the Book of Genesis and St. Paul. It was left for Romanticism with its insistence upon the individual's right of self-realization and self-expression to throw down entirely the philosophical barriers which had hitherto prevented the rise of woman to intellectual equality with man.

England was without question the foremost European nation in granting woman a legal and social status equal to that of man. The reason for this is to be found in the political history of that country. The traditional Germanic respect for womanhood which had come over with the Anglo-Saxons culminated in the recognition by English juris-

prudence of the right of daughters to inherit all of a father's property, including the kingdom, in default of male heirs. Thus Matilda, as early as the twelfth century, had been crowned "Lady of England." The glorious reign of Elizabeth had successfully eradicated from English minds any doubts about the capacity of a woman to govern which might have arisen in consequence of the less successful tenures of Matilda and Mary Tudor. The reign of Queen Anne (1702-1714) had likewise been distinguished by English military successes abroad and outstanding literary productivity at home, and although Anne was certainly a colorless creature by contrast with Elizabeth, she was felt to personify to a high degree the solid English virtues and lived on in the memory of her people as "good Queen Anne."

A study of the thinking of three representative English women of the eighteenth century should then cast light upon the changing social and intellectual status of woman during a critical period in her rise to equality with man. The literary form in which women first and by pre-dilection asserted their claims to such equality was the letter. St. Bridget of Sweden in the fourteenth century and Madame de Sévigné in France in the seventeenth century share the distinction of being early acknowledged leaders in this field. These early letter-writers of necessity usually stayed at home and wrote to correspondents in foreign places, but with the appearance of more settled conditions and long periods of peace in the eighteenth century, women began to travel extensively, and their letters then became often chronicles of their observations of foreign scenes addressed to their friends at home.

This paper will examine letters written from Germany by Lady Mary Wortley Montagu in 1716-17, Mrs. Elizabeth Robinson Montagu in 1763, and Dorothy Wordsworth in 1798-99. It may be objected that in the narrower meaning of the word "bluestocking" only the second of these correspondents actually belonged to the famous coterie of Dr. Johnson's friends, but I am using the term to denote any woman with pretensions to a place in literary circles during the century that saw these pretensions finally acknowledged. Not only do these letters cover the century but also they range from the high aristocracy to the lower middle class, and illustrate the gradual ascendancy of the latter to domination in intellectual affairs.

Lady Mary Pierrepont (1689-1762), daughter of the first Duke of Kingston, and wife of Edward Wortley Montagu, was distinguished alike for her wit, her friendship and feud with Alexander Pope, and the practical good sense which led her to introduce inoculation for smallpox into England. Her first visit to Germany occurred while she was on her way to Constantinople with her husband, newly appointed British Ambassador to the "Sublime Porte." The chief aim of Mr. Montagu's mission was

to arrange conditions of peace between Turkey and the Holy Roman Empire, then England's chief continental ally, and in pursuance of this goal he spent much time at Vienna and in certain North German courts.

Lady Mary entered Germany by the usual route of eighteenth century English travelers, through the Netherlands and up the Rhine to Cologne. Her first letter from that city is concerned with what to the satirical Anglican mind of Lady Mary appeared to be the follies of the Roman Catholic religion. She was thorough in her inspection of the churches, "for here is nothing else worth seeing":

The Jesuits' church is the neatest, which was shewed me, in a very complaisant manner, by a handsome young Jesuit; who, not knowing who I was, took a liberty in his compliments and railleries, which very much diverted me. Having never before seen anything of that nature, I could not enough admire the magnificence of the altars, the rich images of the saints (all massy silver), and the enchaussures of the relics; though I could not help murmuring, in my heart, at that profusion of pearls, diamonds, and rubies, bestowed on the adornment of rotten teeth, dirty rags, &c.

A week later from Nürnberg she was analyzing the political and economic conditions of different parts of Germany in a way which we might expect from the daughter of one of England's leading Whigs:

They have sumptuary laws in this town, which distinguish their rank by their dress, and prevent the excess which ruins so many other cities....'tis impossible not to observe the difference between the free towns and those under the government of absolute princes, as all the little sovereigns of Germany are. In the first, there appears an air of commerce and plenty. The streets are well built, and full of people, neatly and plainly dressed...In the other a sort of shabby finery, a number of dirty people of quality tawdered out; narrow nasty streets out of repair, wretchedly thin of inhabitants, and above half of the common sort asking alms.

Here, too, she was amused by the cult of relics:

The Lutherans are not quite free from these follies. I have seen here, in the principal church, a large piece of the cross set in jewels, and the point of the spear, which they told me, very gravely, was the same that pierced the side of our Saviour. But I was particularly diverted in a little Roman

Catholic Church. . . they have dressed up an image of our Saviour over the altar in a fair full-bottomed wig very well powdered.

The next city she visited was Regensburg, the seat of the Reichstag, and the one place in Germany where the traveler might have expected to gain an idea of German unity. The actual impression gathered by Lady Mary was quite the contrary:

You know that all the nobility of this place are envoys from different states. . . instead of joining in the design of making the town as pleasant to one another as they can, and improving their little societies, they amuse themselves no other way than with perpetual quarrels, which they take care to eternise, by leaving them to their successors. . . You may be sure that ladies are not wanting, on their side, in cherishing and improving these important piques. . . But I think it very prudent to remain neuter. . . The foundation of these everlasting disputes turns entirely upon place, and the title of Excellency, which they all pretend to; and, what is very hard, will give it to nobody. . .

With regard to relics she finally made an eye-opening discovery:

I have been to see the churches here, and had the permission of touching the relics, which was never suffered in places where I was not known. I had, by this privilege, the opportunity of making an observation, which I don't doubt, might have been made in all the other churches, that the emeralds and rubies which they shew round their relics and images are most of them false.

On September 8, 1716, Lady Mary was writing her impressions of Vienna, "This town. . . being much less than I expected to find it":

The streets are so very close, and so narrow, one cannot observe the fine fronts of the palaces, though many of them very well deserve observation. . . the town being so much too little for the number of the people that desire to live in it, the builders seem to have projected to repair that misfortune, by clapping one town on the top of another, most of the houses being of five, and some of them of six stories. . . there is no house that has as few as five or six families in it. The apartments of the greatest ladies and even of the ministers of state, are divided but by a partition from that of a tailor or a shoemaker; and I know nobody that

has above two floors in any house, one for their own use, and one higher for their servants.

Confined as these living quarters seemed to be, the luxury of the Austrian nobility was undeniable:

I have been more than once entertained with fifty dishes of meat, all served in silver, and well dressed; the dessert proportionable, served in the finest china. But the variety and richness of their wines is what appears the most surprising. The constant way is, to lay a list of their names upon the plates of the guests, along with the napkins; and I have counted several times to the number of eighteen different sorts. . .

The spaciousness of the suburbs of Vienna helped to make up for the crowded conditions of the city proper:

I must own that I never saw a place so perfectly delightful as the Fauxbourgs of Vienna. It is very large, and almost wholly composed of delicious palaces; and if the emperor found it proper to permit the gates of the town to be laid open, that the Fauxbourgs might be joined to it, he would have one of the largest and best-built cities of Europe. Count Schönbrunn's villa is one of the most magnificent.

To Alexander Pope she described the performance of opera in the open air:

Nothing of that kind ever was more magnificent; and I can easily believe what I am told, that the decorations and habits cost the emperor thirty thousand pounds sterling. The stage was built over a very large canal, and, at the beginning of the second act, divided into two parts, discovering the water, on which there immediately came, from different parts two fleets of little gilded vessels, that gave the representation of a naval fight. It is not easy to imagine the beauty of this scene, which I took particular notice of. But all the rest were perfectly fine in their kind. The story of the opera is the Enchantments of Alcina, which gives opportunity for a great variety of machines, and changes of the scene, which are performed with surprising swiftness.

She was more restrained in her praise of German comedy:

They have but one playhouse, where I had the curiosity to go to a German comedy, and was very glad it happened to be the story of Amphitron, that subject having been already handled by a Latin, French, and English poet, I was curious to see what an Austrian author would make of it. I understand enough of the language to comprehend the greatest part of it; and besides, I took with me a lady, who had the goodness to explain to me every word. The way is, to take a box, which holds four, for yourself and company. The fixed price is a gold ducat. I thought the house very low and dark; but I confess, the comedy admirably compensated that defect. I never laughed so much, it began with Jupiter's falling in love out of a peep-hole in the clouds, and ended with the birth of Hercules. But what was most pleasant was the use Jupiter made of his metamorphosis; for you no sooner saw him under the figure of Amphitron, but, instead of flying to Alcema with the raptures Mr. Dryden puts into his mouth, he sends for Amphitron's tailor and cheats him out of a laced coat, and his banker of a bag of money, a Jew of a diamond ring, and bespeaks a great supper in his name; and the greatest part of the comedy turns upon poor Amphitron's being tormented by these people for their debts, and Mercury uses Sosia in the same manner. But I could not easily pardon the liberty the poet has taken of larding his play with not only indecent expressions, but such gross words as I don't think our mob would suffer from a mountebank, and the two Sosias very fairly let down their breeches in the direct view of the boxes, which were full of people of the first rank, that seemed very well pleased with their entertainment, and they assured me that this was a celebrated piece.

Lady Mary was received at court by the Emperor Charles VI and his Empress, the former Princess Elizabeth of Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel, whose beauty draws tribute even from the matter-of-fact biographer in the Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie. In Lady Mary's words:

Even the lovely empress herself is obliged to comply, in some degree, with these absurd fashions, which they would not quit for all the world. They build certain fabrics of gauze on their heads about a yard high, consisting of three or four stories, fortified with numberless yards of heavy ribbon. . . . Their whalebone petticoats outdo ours by several yards circumference and cover some acres of ground. . . . this drawing-room is very different from that of

England; no man enters it but the old grand-master, who comes in to advertize the empress of the approach of the emperor. His imperial majesty did me the honour of speaking to me in a very obliging manner; but he never speaks to any of the other ladies and the whole passes with a gravity and air of ceremony that has something very formal in it.

Another court was that maintained by the dowager empress, Amelia, widow of Emperor Joseph I:

I had there the pleasure of seeing a diversion wholly new to me, but which is the common amusement of this court... young ladies of quality, headed by two young archduchesses, with fine light guns in their hands; and at proper distances were placed three oval pictures, which were the marks to be shot at... All the men of quality at Vienna were spectators; but only the ladies had permission to shoot, and the Archduchess Amelia carried off the first prize.

Quite different from the formal restraints of the Habsburgs themselves was the freedom of morals that characterized high Viennese society:

A woman till five-and-thirty is only looked upon as a raw girl, and can possibly make no noise in the world till about forty... 'tis a considerable comfort to me, to know there is upon earth such a paradise for old women; and I am content to be insignificant at present, in the design of returning when I am fit to appear nowhere else... Here are neither coquettes nor prudes. No woman dares to appear coquette enough to encourage two lovers at a time. And I have never seen any such prudes as to pretend fidelity to their husbands... But one of the pleasantest adventures I ever met in my life was last night... I was at the assembly of the Countess of, and the young Count of led me down stairs, and he asked me how long I intended to stay here. I made answer that my stay depended on the emperor Well, madam, (said he) whether your time here is to be long or short, I think you ought to pass it agreeably, and to that end you must engage in a little affair of the heart.

Actually Lady Mary's time in Vienna was cut short by new diplomatic developments which obliged Mr. Montagu to travel to Hanover for revised instructions. The journey northward was made by way of Prague, "one of the largest towns in Germany, but for the most part, old built and thinly inhabited" and on through "the frightful precipices that divide

Bohemia from Saxony, at the bottom of which runs the river Elbe," to Dresden, "the neatest town I have seen in Germany." From the court scandal of Saxony she retailed a bit of gossip about the Countess of Cozelle, a mistress of Augustus the Strong who courted her bearing "in one hand a bag of a hundred thousand crowns, and in the other a horseshoe which he snapped asunder before her face, leaving her to draw consequences from such remarkable proofs of strength and liberality." Further on she wrote:

Leipzig is a town very considerable for its trade, and I take the opportunity of buying pages' liveries, gold stuffs for myself, &c, all things of that kind being at least double the price at Vienna; partly because of the excessive customs, and partly the want of genius and industry in the people, who make no one sort of thing here.

The description of Hanover as a "boom town" in the years just after the succession of its Elector to the throne of Great Britain is interesting:

This town is neither large nor handsome; but the palace is capable of holding a greater court than that of St. James's. The King has had the goodness to appoint us a lodging in one part of it, without which we should be very ill accommodated; for the vast number of English crowds the town so much, it is very good luck to be able to get one sorry room in a miserable tavern....I have now made the tour of Germany, and cannot help observing a considerable difference between travelling here and in England. One sees none of those fine seats of noblemen that are so common amongst us, nor anything like a country gentlemen's house, though they have many situations perfectly fine. But the whole people are divided into absolute sovereignties, where all the riches and magnificence are at court, or communities of merchants, such as Nuremberg and Frankfort, where they live always in town for the convenience of trade. The King's company of French comedians plays here every night. They are very well dressed and some of them not ill actors. His majesty dines and sups constantly in public.

The North German winter was made endurable by a domestic institution that Lady Mary hoped to see adopted in England. She denounced "our obstinacy in shaking with cold six months in the year, rather than the use of stoves, which are certainly one of the greatest conveniences of life; and so far from spoiling the form of a room, they add very much to the magnificence of it, when they are painted and gilt, as at Vienna, or at Dresden, where they are often in the shape of china jars, statues

or fine cabinets."

At the beginning of the year 1717 Lady Mary was back in Vienna:

The Carnival is begun, and all sorts of diversions in perpetual practice, except that of masquing, which is never permitted during a war with the Turks. The balls are in public places, where the men pay a gold ducat at entrance, the ladies nothing. Last night there was an Italian comedy acted at court without either wit or humour... No women are suffered to act on the stage, and the men dressed like them were such awkward figures, they very much added to the ridicule of the spectacle.

Two weeks later she was writing: "I have had my audiences of leave of the Empresses. His Imperial Majesty was pleased to be present when I waited on the reigning Empress; and after a very obliging conversation, both their Imperial Majesties invited me to take Vienna in my road back."

This concludes Lady Mary's published correspondence of her travels in Germany. There is a widespread belief that the letters in their present form were not actually written at the time indicated, but instead were prepared for publication by their author in later life from contemporary diaries. This circumstance cannot impair the value of their account of German court life as seen by a woman whose pen is wielded with the incisiveness that we should expect from a contemporary of Pope and Swift.

Our second traveler, Elizabeth Robinson (1720-1800), was born in York. At the age of twelve she engaged in a precocious correspondence with the future Duchess of Portland, displaying faultless epistolary style and a keen sense of observation. When she was twenty-two she married Edward Montagu, thirty years her senior and a cousin of Wortley Montagu. Rebelling against the tradition that women in London society should spend their hours either at the dinner table or the card table, she gathered about her the most interesting conversationalists, men and women, of a brilliantly conversational era, and won from Dr. Johnson the honorable epithet of "Queen of the Blues."

Mrs. Montagu's visit to Germany was made in the summer of 1763 as the continuation of a visit to the watering-place of Spa in the Austrian Netherlands (Belgium). Making use of an adjective that was just then becoming fashionable she termed the countryside between Limburg and Aachen "most romantick and beautiful":

One day sufficed to shew us everything worth seeing at Aix. We paid our devotions to the tomb of Charlemagne. Our next stage was to Cologne, a very ugly ill-built city. We pass'd the first day in seeing some churches and Convents, the next we went to see two Palaces of the Electors at Bonn... The late elector lived rather according to the doctrine of Epicurus than the Canons of the Christian Church. He loved fine houses, fine Ladies, fine Balls, fine operas, etc. His little Castle has an air of asiatick luxury, it is contrived for the summer residence. His salle à manger was cool'd by two beautifull fountains, and in his bed chamber he slept with a fair nymph by his side to the musick of falling waters. This luxurious and magnificent Prince had two other fine Palaces, but bad weather prevented our going to see them. We made ourselves some amends in the evening by going ... to see the Cathedral, which is the highest style of Gothic grandeur, but unhappily it was never entirely finished; with rich reliques it abounds, the heads of the three wise men who worshipp'd our saviour are enclosed in a vast gold shrine most richly adorn'd with diamonds, pearls, colour'd gems and fine antique Cameos. St. Peter's staff and many other reliques are enclos'd in gold set with diamonds, etc. The riches of this church are prodigious. You may believe Mrs. Carter /this is Elizabeth Carter (1717-1806) another "bluestocking," a famous linguist, and translator of Epicetus/ did not neglect her respects to St. Ursula and her 11, 000 virgin companions.

Up to this point Mrs. Montagu's descriptions have seemed to be merely a watered down version of Lady Mary's satirical references to ecclesiastical extravagance and the cult of relics, but a description of the fine pictures in the palace of the Elector Palatine at Düsseldorf provoked her to an expression of sympathy for the lower classes which shows us that we are now entering the Age of Sensibility:

It grieves one to see Princes so magnificent and luxurious while their subjects are so poor and so wretched. The people in the villages we pass'd through had hardly human figures. The women were tottering under burthens of great weight. They have none of those beauties and agrémens which would enable them to subdue the strong, so they are the slaves of the men.

With Dorothy Wordsworth (1771-1855) the change to the new outlook of another age is complete. The spacious days of the Eighteenth Century had come to an end, and the privileges of the international Euro-

pean aristocracy of rank, wit, and wealth had succumbed to the menace of the French revolution when Dorothy and William Wordsworth undertook their ill-fated German journey in 1798. In England, at least, the rise of Romanticism coincided with the triumph of the middle class viewpoint, and those aristocrats who were leaders in the movement, such as Byron and Shelley, were regarded as traitors to their own class. The moralizing tendencies of the English Romanticists, their overwhelming preference for the Liberal side in politics, even their favoring of Cambridge over the rival University of Oxford, may be cited as evidences of the essentially middle-class origin of Romanticism in England. The reverse of the picture appears when we see how the vision of both the Wordsworths was clouded by a typically middle-class preoccupation with money. An exaggerated emphasis on economy foredoomed their German visit to failure. This note is touched in Dorothy's letters from their Somersetshire retreat in the months of April and July, 1798:

We are to quit Allfoxden at Midsummer--Our present plan is to go into Germany for a couple of years. William thinks it will be a great advantage for him to be acquainted with the German language; besides that translation is the most profitable of all works... Our journey as far as Hamburgh will cost us between twenty and five and twenty guineas; we have reason to think we can live cheaper in Germany than in England. Our design is to board in a family..... Our first intention was to have gone immediately to the neighborhood of one of the Universities; but as we find that the price of lodgings etc. is much greater in the towns where there are universities we have resolved to go into some small town or village, till we have acquired the language, which we imagine we shall have a good knowledge of in about twelve months, and afterwards, to draw near a university when William and Coleridge will then be better able to profit by the instructions they may have an opportunity of receiving. We are advised to go into Saxony. Some parts of that country are extremely beautiful and boarding is very cheap. We can live for less money in Germany than we can in England, so that you see our regular income (independent of what we may gain by translation) will be sufficient to support us when we are there...

Lyrical Ballads was duly published and its two authors, accompanied by Dorothy Wordsworth (the original plan to include Mrs. Coleridge in the party had been altered), left for Germany in September, 1798. At Hamburg the party separated, Coleridge going to Ratzeburg with his friend Chester to enjoy the social amenities of that town to the

full and make good progress in his study of German. Dorothy and William Wordsworth quite unaccountably chose Goslar as their residence and almost immediately repented of their choice. Dorothy was soon writing:

We are not fortunately situated here with respect to the attainment of our main object, a knowledge of the language. We have indeed gone on improving in that respect, but not so expeditiously as we might have done: for there is no society at Goslar, it is a lifeless town; and it seems that here in Germany a man travelling alone may do very well, but, if his sister or wife goes with him, he must give entertainments. So we content ourselves with talking to the people of the house etc, and reading German...

The modern reader of Dorothy Wordsworth's letters, secure in his knowledge of William's one youthful indiscretion, is forced to raise the question whether Dorothy may not have had another reason than merely thriftiness for secluding her brother so determinedly from contact with German social life. She may well have feared William's susceptible heart and made up her mind that Annette Vallon should have no German successor in William's affections. However that may be, the need for the severest economy remained the recurrent theme of her letters. In February, 1799, she wrote to her brother Christopher:

For more than two months past we have intended quitting Goslar in the course of each week, but we have been so frightened by the cold season, the dreadful roads, and the uncovered carts that we needed no other motives (adding these considerations to our natural aversion to moving from a place where we live in comfort and quietness) to induce us to linger here. We have had a succession of excessively severe weather... and the cold of Christmas Day has not been equalled even in this climate during the last century. It was so excessive that when we left the room where we sit we were obliged to wrap ourselves up in great coats etc. in order not to suffer much pain from the transition, though we only went into the next room or downstairs for a few minutes. No wonder then that we were afraid of travelling all night in an open cart. I do not believe we should yet venture to move, if we had not hit upon another plan, namely that of walking the first 30 or 35 miles of our journey, by which means we shall save the distance of 20 miles, a circuit which the diligence makes, and shall also travel through a much pleasanter country.

Nordhausen, a city in Upper Saxony, is the place to which our foot-travels tend. We shall there meet with covered Diligences

to all the considerable towns of Saxony. We are not yet exactly decided whither we shall go. We have letters to Weimar, but there are other places which seem to promise equal advantages, and where living is much cheaper as Erfurt, Eisnach (sic) etc.

We have gone on advancing in the language, the main object of our journey, in tolerably regular progress, but if we had the advantage of good society, we should have done much more--this however is a benefit which we have now given up all expectation of attaining, as we find that when a MAN AND WOMAN are received into society, they are expected, being considered as a sort of family, to give entertainments in return for what they receive. Now this in conjunction with the expense of travelling, is absolutely out of our power, though I believe that we could do it, being stationary, for as little expense as we could live for entirely without company in England...

Goslar is not a place where it is possible to see anything of the manners of the more cultivated Germans or of the higher classes. Its inhabitants are all petty tradespeople, in general a low and selfish race; intent upon gain, and perpetually of course disappointed. They cannot find it in their hearts to ask of a stranger a fair price for their goods. The woman of this house who is a civil and good kind of respectable woman in her way could not refrain from cheating us of halfpence and farthings when we first came. She is a widow with 5 children and keeps a linen drapers shop, which I dare say barely serves to support them decently. Yet she dresses herself out very fine in artificial flowers on a Sunday, and spent half a Louis on a jaunt in a traineau, a luxury which I suppose it would be almost a disgrace not to enjoy once in a winter. When the snow first fell the whole town was in commotion, traineaus everywhere! but the people are not rich enough to keep to it long--all is now quiet.

Coleridge is in a very different world from what we stir in; he is all in high life, among barons, counts and countesses. He could not be better placed than he is at Ratzeberg (sic) for attaining the object of his journey; but his expenses are much more than ours conjointly...it would have been impossible for us to have lived as he does; we should have been ruined...

William has been mixing with his German employments a good deal of English poetical composition. We have lived very happily and comfortably, but not sufficiently differently from our

English way of life. A young man, an apprentice in the house, comes up to sit with us each evening; but we have no other society except that of a French Emigrant Priest, and what we find in our daily intercourse with the family...

The journey on foot from Goslar to Nordhausen took place at the end of February, 1799, and in her account of it Dorothy Wordsworth gives us her only half-way sympathetic account of the German common people and countryside:

Goslar lies on the edge of some high hills; mountains they cannot be called, at the skirts of the Harz forest. After walking about a mile we began to ascend through a pine forest which with the accompaniment of tiny waterfalls alias "Mittenrachs" (?) might, as William says, remind a traveller of the Alps in the same way as a little kitten may suggest recollections of a full grown tiger. Some of the pine trees are extremely beautiful... The peasants in the plains adjacent to Goslar are extremely well clothed and decent in their appearance. We had often seen in Goslar women inhabitants of the hills, but we did not imagine them to be so rude and barbarous a race as we found them. They carry enormous burthens in square baskets hung over their shoulders, their petticoats reach very little below their knees, and their stockings are dangling about their ankles without garters. Swellings in the throat are very common amongst them which may perhaps be attributed to the straining of the neck in dragging these monstrous loads. They rarely travel without a bottle of German brandy, Schnapps as they call it...

We left (Clausthal) on Sunday, a mild morning, saw little that was remarkable till we came to the decaying posts of an old gibbet. We had scarcely passed it when we were saluted with the song of the lark... a sweet, liquid, and heavenly melody heard for the first time, after so long and severe a winter. I ought to have said that before this we had a view of the Brocken, the Mont Blanc of the Hartz Forest, and the glory of all this part of Germany. I cannot speak of its height as compared with any of our British mountains, but from the point from which we saw it, it had nothing impressive in its appearance...

We...did not arrive at Osterode till four o'clock in the afternoon... The appearance of the people as we passed through the streets was very little favorable--they looked dirty, impudent and vulgar, and absolutely the whole town being at the windows or in the streets as we unluckily met them coming from church,

we were stared completely out of countenance, at least I was; William stoutly denies that he was at all uncomfortable; however this was, we had not courage to stop at an inn till we had walked through the whole town, and just on the other side of the city gates, we called at one where they told us they could give us nothing to eat. While we stood pondering what we should do, inquiring for another Wirtshaus, and half resolved to go a league further where we were told we could be accommodated, one of the Under-officers of the town who was drinking with a sort of rabble, in the Wirtshaus where we had been refused admittance, accosted us and civilly assured us that we should be admitted into the house, but he brought out one of his comrades a little above him in place and about equal in self-importance and insolence, who questioned us respecting our business etc. and would not let us pass without a passport. He conducted William to the Burgomaster who promised to grant him the said passport in the morning after he had seen our letters which were to come by the post-waggon, with our trunk in the evening. In the meantime I was left in one of those towers which you always see at the entrance of cities; amongst a set of soldiers who were furbishing their dress, a woman who was engaged in some kind of Taylor's business, and a man who had an iron ring and chain hanging to his hand, I suppose as a punishment for some felony. You may be sure I was not a little impatient for William's return. He brought back his friend the officer in great good humour with himself and him, for he took care to flatter his vanity, and we were admitted to the Wirtshaus; where we had some cold veal to supper, decentish beds, and a large quantity of excellent coffee in the morning for the value of one shilling and elevenpence English money.

...the first part of our yesterday's journey was very delightful; the country charming, something like the widest of the Welsh valleys, the widest and the tamest, but afterwards the roads grew worse, still however we had a pleasant walk, and reached our inn at 4 in the afternoon. We had sausages and boiled milk to supper, coffee etc. for 1 shilling and nine-pence, we slept in company with our host and hostess, and four children, a facetious shoe-maker, a Prussian tax gatherer and a journeyman hat maker, who had travelled all over Germany working a month here and a few days there, to see the world--William advised him to go to England as he was so fond of travelling. 'England, was ist das für ein Land? gehört es an dem König von Dänemark? wo liegt es? nein, man ist nicht ruhig darin! If my report does not exactly accord

with the strict rules of German grammar I hope that you will be so good as to attribute it to the hatmaker. Our landlord has been in the Prussian service, a fine looking man, extremely fond of his children and seeming to be very happy with a very good tempered wife. We were struck with the extreme folly of people who draw conclusions respecting a national character from the narrow limits of common observation. We have been much with German hosts and hostesses and notwithstanding the supposed identifying tendency first of national manners, and then of particular occupations, these persons appeared in every respect as if made in contrast to each other...

Later in this joint letter which was addressed to Coleridge, William Wordsworth expressed himself in a very pessimistic vein about his understanding of the German language and German literature. It is difficult not to blame Dorothy in large part for his ill success. Travelling with such a duenna he was unable to form those personal associations which his own affability encouraged and which his nature required. Dorothy's unfortunate insistence upon extreme frugality prevented his meeting Goethe, Schiller, and other great figures of Weimar, and yet it is hard to believe that the constant complaint of limited resources was justified, for one of William's first inquiries on his return to England concerned the possibility of investing in government bonds. Naturally the original plan of residing for some time in a university town had to be abandoned in deference to Dorothy's attitude, and she reported on their return to England in May, 1799:

We found living in Germany, with the enjoyment of any tolerable advantages, much more expensive than we expected, which determined us to come home with the first tolerable weather of the Spring. We left Coleridge and Mr. Chester at Göttingen...and we proceeded with as little delay as possible, travelling in a German diligence to Hamburg, whence we went down the Elbe in a boat to Cuxhaven.

In her later correspondence Dorothy was to lament her incomplete mastery of the German language: "I read German, partly as preparatory to translating, but I am unfit for the task alone, and William is better employed." Some of her letters subsequently described Klopstock, the only important German literary figure whom the Wordsworths met during their tour. They had visited him briefly in Hamburg upon their arrival in Germany:

I wish I could tell you more about Klopstock himself. I was only with him two or three hours, and as I

could not speak a word of German, and have only a miserable stock of French, and his French was even worse than mine, I had little of his conversation. What I was chiefly pleased with in him was his great cheerfulness, even liveliness, under the burthen of old age and many diseases... If I had heard of his first Wife, or read her letters at that time I think I should have been able to give you a better account of him. I am sure he must have been a most amiable man... His second wife was with him, a young well-looking woman (that is young for the wife of so old a man)... but she did not seem to have much of the Sensibility of his first wife. She, I believe, was buried at Altona, and Klopstock planted a Yew-tree upon her grave... I wish we had known of its existence and visited it when we were there.

This sketch of a German man of letters by an observant Englishwoman must make us regret doubly that Dorothy Wordsworth never availed herself of her opportunity to converse with Goethe, Schiller, Herder, and Wieland.

We have finished our travels with our three bluestocking correspondents. If the objection is made that their writing reveals more of themselves than it does of Germany, we must admit the impeachment. We have seen the Age of Reason reflected in Lady Mary with all her brilliance and her heartlessness. Mrs. Montagu furnished the transition to the succeeding Era of Sensibility, and Dorothy Wordsworth exemplifies the triumph of the middle-class not only with its caution and preciseness, but also with its new awareness of nature and the complexities of human personality.

EDMOND JALOUX: LITERARY CRITIC

By Jack Kolbert, University of Pittsburgh

Daniel-Rops wrote recently of Edmond Jaloux: "A la fois célèbre et méconnu, telle est la situation paradoxale d'un écrivain qui ne s'est jamais laissé réduire à une formule et dont la fécondité décourage le lecteur pressé."¹ The statement that Jaloux was "méconnu" stimulated the preparation of this study.

The life and presence of Edmond Jaloux seem to be contemporary with an entire era of French intellectual and artistic activity. From 1898, when Jaloux and a group of young writers in Marseilles founded the short-lived review, Méditerranéenne, until his death in Lausanne in 1949, one can trace a half century of distinguished service to the cause of literature. For Jaloux, however, it was more than mere service; literature meant a way of life:

La littérature est, pour ceux qui l'exercent de toute leur âme, moins une profession qu'une façon d'être, un engagement complet de la personne. Il y a le métier; il y a à côté de lui la discussion des idées, les livres nouveaux, les revues qui apparaissent, le grand homme possible qui se lève à l'horizon, le souvenir des lectures, une sorte de mythologie enfin...²

Fernand Baldensperger adds to this case by pointing out that Jaloux lived solely to read, to write, and to comment upon fiction: "La dévotion aux lettres, et en particulier au genre multiforme du roman, a pris la valeur d'un vrai culte dans la vie et l'esprit d'Edmond Jaloux."³ Similarly Georges Lecomte, the secrétaire perpétuel of the French Academy, once voiced the legitimate complaint that this critic's life was inordinately devoid of legendary color and too exclusively confined to activities of the pen. Addressing himself directly to Jaloux, Lecomte declared, "Votre existence, magnifiquement monotone, n'est faite que de vos travaux, de vos études, des émois que les œuvres et les hommes vous ont donnés."⁴ But one has only to browse through the scores of reviews, papers, catalogues, and prefaces that filled the literary scene in France during these five decades to perceive with what astonishing regularity Jaloux's contributions appeared. All in all he has left sixty-one volumes and more than three thousand articles appearing literally everywhere: in Le Matin, Le Temps, Le Gaulois, La Tribune de Genève, Mercure de France, Les Cahiers du Sud, Vogue, Vendémiaire, Revue de Paris, América Latina.

However, Jaloux's reputation evolved primarily because of his affiliation with Les Nouvelles Littéraires, starting with this paper's birth on October 2, 1922, and lasting until its temporary demise in 1940 upon the entrance of Hitler's hordes into Paris. Starting out with a column on painting and sculpture, "Chronique Artistique," this versatile figure soon assumed the role of principal literary critic for Les Nouvelles Littéraires, utilizing the title, "L'Esprit des Livres," which served him well for many years. From this authoritative vantage point Jaloux's weekly studies on literary topics reached out and affected what was probably the largest literary audience of the time, for the circulation of Les Nouvelles Littéraires was the most widespread of any publication of its kind during the twenties and thirties. His efforts in "L'Esprit des Livres" are divisible into three types of coverage, equal in quantity and ranked as follows in their order of effectiveness: first, his well-known prospection for new and promising talent among the contemporary artists; second, his support in France of the great foreign literatures; and finally, his attention to the proven great works of the French literary heritage, especially works of the romantic tradition.

Coupled with his herculean output was his extraordinary energy. For example, when his friend Armand Praviel once visited him in his Palais-Royal apartment he found this indefatigable writer engaged in the composition of three or four novels and in the translation of three or four foreign works into French, while at the same time he was studying more than ten books for later review, collaborating in the direction of numerous journals, and devoting time to committees designed to select the laureates for several prix littéraires. He still found time to attend and judge the various art expositions and concerts in Paris so that he might write reviews for the papers.⁵

The prodigious efforts of the author of "L'Esprit des Livres" did not go unnoticed among literary circles in Europe, and his lifespan is replete with more than the usual array of honors. In 1909 his novel, Le Reste est silence, received the Prix La Vie Heureuse. In 1920 the Académie Française bestowed upon his cumulative works the Grand Prix de Littérature. In 1925 the Belgian government declared him Chevalier de l'Ordre de Léopold, for his dissemination of Belgian culture throughout Europe. In the same year his devotion to the intellectual rapprochement among nations won him membership as Chevalier of the Legion of Honor. In recognition of Jaloux's able understanding of problems related to young writers and his uncommon faculty for locating new talent, the publishers Grasset (1923-1926) and Emile-Paul (1924-1929) appointed him director of identical series of publications, each called La Collection Edmond Jaloux. For these collections he was to select out of the teeming mass of French literary output the finest novels and the most promising talent. A few titles in the group will show that Grasset's and

Emile-Paul's confidence in his perspicacity were not misplaced. Here, in fact, are some of the books by writers previously little known before they saw the light of day under the aegis of La Collection Edmond Jaloux: Le Songe by Henry de Montherlant, Giraudoux's Siegried et le Limousin, Raymond Radiguet's Le Diable au corps, and the earliest novels of Jean Cassou (e.g., Les Harmonies viennoises and Le Pays qui n'est à personne). Perhaps his greatest honor was his election to the French Academy in 1936, where he succeeded his eminent friend, Paul Bourget.

While his novels comprise the production dearest to his heart, most persons familiar with the intellectual history of France during his lifetime think of Jaloux primarily as a critic. It is indeed quite possible that on this basis his fame will either stand or fall. He was a professional critic in the fullest sense of the term, as literary criticism was almost his sole means of earning a livelihood.

A rather clear notion of his approach to criticism is gained by a study of the copious comments on the subject made at countless moments throughout his articles. Unfortunately no single work or manifesto exists in which he gave a full definition of his philosophy of literary criticism. This would have been repugnant to his very nature; Jaloux steadfastly refused to theorize, to propose formal methods of application. Systems of this sort, he believed, led inevitably to the mechanization, to the paralysis, of an art which was fundamentally creative and vital.

A comprehension of Jaloux's critical undertaking can be derived by comparing it with Thibaudet's arbitrary but convenient classification of literary critics into three types of practitioners⁶: first, the "critique universitaire," the scholarly, systematic erudite who follows the tradition of Brunetièrre, and, more recently, that of Lanson; second, the more casual "critique parlée," which embodies the journalist-critics who stem from Sainte-Beuve's Lundis; and finally, the "critiques artistes," whose grasp of the field is due largely to their own creativity (the tradition of Diderot and Baudelaire).

Where does Jaloux stand within this schema? As a matter of fact, he fits more or less well into all three categories. His methodical, serious studies on Goethe, Edgar Poë et les femmes, Füssli, and especially his history of French literature mark him as a scholarly type of critic. Yet, by his extensive participation in the newspapers and reviews, he is certainly to be ranked under the second heading. The newspaper critic is, according to Jaloux, "le véritable critique":

On ne saurait comparer l'écrivain qui, à tête reposée, sans nécessité, soit de lecture, soit de labeur, met au point une étude sur une époque ou sur un ensemble d'idées, et le

véritable critique, qui reçoit quelquefois trente ou quarante livres par semaine--quand ce n'est pas davantage--en parcourt un grand nombre, lit avec minutie ceux qui lui paraissent les plus intéressants et doit fournir son article à date fixe.⁷

Indeed most of his published volumes are collections of articles gathered at random from the newspapers and united into books with motley titles such as L'Esprit des livres, Série I, De Pascal à Barrès, Perspectives et personnages, D'Eschyle à Giraudoux, Figures étrangères, Visages français, Du Rêve à la réalité.

As for Thibaudeau's third group, Jaloux's experience as one of the truly prolific novelists of the century gave him first-hand understanding of the triumphs and frustrations in the creative process of this genre. Consequently, many of his peers considered him a highly reliable authority on the novel. His study, "François Mauriac, romancier," based, for the greater part, on Mauriac's Le Romancier et ses personnages, is an ample testimonial of Jaloux's insight into artistic creation, as is his volume, Rainer Maria Rilke, in which Jaloux traces, step by step, Rilke's creative formulation of Malte Laurids Brigge.

Ever since the polemic during the last century between Anatole France and Brunetière on the question of impressionistic criticism versus dogmatic, absolutist criticism, it has become quite a common practice, when discussing a particular French critic, to determine his relationship to either of these antipodes. This question is justifiable for Edmond Jaloux also: To what extent can he be regarded as an impressionist or as a dogmatist? Maurice Martin du Gard, his colleague from the staff of Les Nouvelles Littéraires, seems to have defined his stance with much accuracy. He describes it as "aussi éloigné du dogmatisme à la Brunetière que de l'impressionisme à la Lemaître."⁸

In the first place, one notes in the writings of the author of "L'Esprit des Livres" a real coolness toward the criticism of Anatole France and Jules Lemaître:

Mais une telle critique est bien désordonnée; elle supprime toutes les hiérarchies, toutes les valeurs. Si un certain amusement facile est le but de la lecture, un roman de Willy est supérieur à Volupté ou au Rouge et le Noir. Je crois qu'il est prudent de ne pas se placer à ce point de vue.⁹

But the same contumelious attitude toward the tradition of Brunetière is equally clear:

Mais si l'on retourne à la critique dogmatique, quel danger! Pourquoi ne pas retomber dans les étroites classi-

fifications du dix-septième et du dix-huitième siècles, qui proscrivaient certains genres comme insuffisamment nobles, et mettaient au plus haut degré de la littérature, l'éloquence de la chaire, laquelle ne compte plus aujourd'hui dans nos préoccupations.¹⁰

And so, rejecting total engagement with either of these directions, he resolves the dilemma after an inner debate: "Il est donc nécessaire de se garder d'un excès comme de l'autre; il serait même sage de demander à un écrivain ce qu'il a voulu faire, et non de lui reprocher systématiquement de l'avoir fait."¹¹

Such an approach is a reasonable one. In the first place Jaloux realized that pure objectivity was impossible, that impressionism to a certain extent was unavoidable. He even opined that a critic saw the world through a personal vision, interpreted and analyzed it according to personal predispositions, and expressed the results of his inquiry in a style that was his own. Once, discussing the Renaissance, he wrote that "tous les jugements que l'on porte sur lui tirent une partie de leur éloquence de l'esprit de l'homme qui le juge."¹² Elsewhere he went so far as to declare that "un critique, c'est peut-être un lyrique renversé."¹³ Yet he was equally aware that serious studies of the works of others must rest on more solid substance than on lyricism or personal impressions. A way out of pure subjectivity is possible, according to Jaloux, if the critic observes the hiérarchies. By this he meant that one must not ignore the experience and universally accepted ratings of others in the profession before him:

Je m'efforcerai pourtant de tenir compte des hiérarchies et de juger, moins avec mes nerfs, que d'après les règles que nous ont léguées nos maîtres. Sans tomber dans le dogmatisme..., je crois que tant de chefs d'œuvre, qui nous ont précédés dans ce monde voué à l'incertitude, nous ont donné cependant un enseignement qu'il faut savoir entendre.... Nous avons assez de beaux exemples pour posséder certaines vérités d'ordre technique....

Chut! j'ai dit un mot de trop. En critique, il ne faut jamais parler de vérité. Disons seulement que nous avons le droit de savoir où vont nos préférences, et si elles s'appuient ou non sur la raison et sur une étude patiente et modeste des grands écrivains.¹⁴

Hierarchies and ratings are possible only if the critic has at his disposal a clear notion of certain criteria, weights and measures, standards of quality; by observing these he can gauge the works of art in question. Only in this way can the serious nature of literary criticism be

maintained, and can the entire field avoid being turned into a pastime of whims and impressions. Of the matter of criteria and standards Jaloux writes:

Le critique, selon les cas, doit avoir plusieurs poids et mesures; l'essentiel pour lui est de ne jamais se tromper sur l'authentique grandeur d'un homme et de ne pas, comme l'a fait Anatole France dans la Vie littéraire trouver Hector Malot supérieur à Dostoievsky.¹⁵

If Jaloux admits the necessity of weights and measures, he means that they should be flexible and fluid and should vary "selon les cas"; identical yardsticks ought not to function categorically in every case of art. If a book or a poem is to be regarded as an individual entity, the critic must first attempt to determine the intentions of the author and then ascertain, after careful scrutiny, whether or not, and why or why not, the author succeeded in his task. Such an attitude Jaloux designates as a criticism of liberalism; for him liberalism, when applicable to literary criticism, means "plutôt une disposition du caractère qu'une formule philosophique; il consiste à juger chacun selon les fruits plutôt que sur son orientation."¹⁶ Summing up this concept of hierarchies in literary criticism, his clearest statement on the subject seems to be:

La mission de la critique n'est pas tant d'élier ou d'arbitrer, que de délimiter nettement les frontières des esprits et, dans l'espace qui leur est conféré, de recomposer l'architecture des œuvres accomplies, promettant ainsi l'œil du spectateur de les envisager clairement, dans une lumière qui n'est ni assez ardente pour en brouiller la perspective, ni assez froide pour stériliser l'émotion qu'un style propre à leur vie intense a su leur conserver.¹⁷

But if Jaloux established a noble course of action for the literary critic, he did not deceive himself into believing that literary criticism was a fortress unassailable to the erosive work of time and of the constant flux of fads, tastes, or modes. Indeed he believed that the estimates and notions of today are subject to total revision with the passage of time:

Comme le travail du temps modifie un visage, l'ennoblit, l'use ou le gâte, selon les lois que nul ne peut prévoir, une œuvre de l'esprit, en vieillissant, gagne des beautés nouvelles ou perd ses vertus d'une façon qui a échappé à la clairvoyance des contemporains; voilà le drame et la faiblesse de la critique.¹⁸

Elsewhere he states in no uncertain terms that "il n'y a guère d'œuvre de critique qui, au bout d'un siècle, et quand le temps a fait son œuvre,

ne paraisse un tissu de bouffonneries.¹⁹ Is Edmond Jaloux seeking to commit professional suicide by such a view? On the contrary, no one more strongly than he had faith in the indispensability of the literary critic within the orbit of the world of letters. What Jaloux aimed at was simply to remind his brethren that smugness and a cocky illusion of omniscience are perilous errors. Only the critic proceeding with caution and humility can, in the long run, avoid the pitfalls of rash, unreasonable utterances and achieve a critical approach that is steady in course and free, as much as humanely possible, from serious errors of judgment.

Humility and the awareness of the relativity of his task characterize all of Jaloux's critical writings. This prudence is discernible even in cases where his footing seemed most secure, and where universal approbation seemed to follow his initial pronouncements almost at once. For example, while it is generally conceded that Jaloux was among the first in France to discover the poetic genius of Rainer Maria Rilke and to bring about his acceptance, the critic, nonetheless, took great pains to warn the readers of his important book on this poet that he had not yet reached an all-encompassing verdict: "Qu'on prenne donc ces pages pour des ébauches, des projets; rien, en somme, de définitif. Mais rien ne paraît définitif à son auteur; le maître-mot n'est jamais dit."²⁰

In the same work, Jaloux offered a kind of definition of literary criticism, one to which he subscribed for more than a half century: it is a floating, pendulous activity, seldom taking root in any absolute dictum. Criticism is osmosis, particularly in the cases of the more profound poets and novelists. Of Rilke he declares:

Je crois que chacune des études que l'on va lire démontre qu'il m'était moins étranger à mesure que je l'étudiais mieux. Il y a une certaine osmose dans toute vraie critique. Je ne saurais dire combien de lectures des Cahiers de Malte Laurids Brigge représentent ces pages dont la maladresse et l'insuffisance m'irritent chaque fois que je les relis.²¹

Edmond Jaloux was more stringent with the criticism of his own literary output than were many of his colleagues who judged it. This statement will be found to be true if we examine what others thought of the adolescent critic who, in l'Indépendance Républicaine (a small paper of Marseilles), in an article dated June 26, 1897, was virtually the first to proclaim the appearance of André Gide on the literary horizon and to call attention to his magnificent promise. Of this prospector of talent

the astute literary critic, Charles DuBos, once said: "Je ne l'ai jamais pris en défaut d'exactitude ou d'information."²² Another well-known writer once wrote a letter to Jaloux in which he declared: "Grâce à vous une phrase de moi risque de durer."²³ This can be taken as the noblest compliment a critic can receive, for it was Marcel Proust who wrote this letter.

NOTES

1. Daniel-Rops, "Edmond Jaloux parmi nous," Journal de Genève, (March 7, 1948).
2. Edmond Jaloux, "La Lumière ne s'éteint pas," Candide, (November 4, 1942).
3. Fernand Baldensperger, La Critique et l'histoire littéraires en France au dix-neuvième et au début du vingtième siècles (New York:Brentano's, 1945), p. 222.
4. Georges Lecomte et Edmond Jaloux, Le Fauteuil de Paul Bourget (Paris:Librairie Plon, 1937), p. 77.
5. Armand Praviel, "Ceux d'aujourd'hui et demain--Un Marseillais pessimiste: Edmond Jaloux," Le Correspondant, Tome 295 (Paris, 1924), p. 998.
6. Albert Thibaudet, Réflexions sur la critique (Paris:Gallimard, 1939), pp. 126 et seq.
7. Edmond Jaloux, "Grandeur et servitude de la critique," L'Echo de Paris, (December 28, 1936).
8. Maurice Martin du Gard, "Edmond Jaloux de l'Académie Française," Les Nouvelles Littéraires, no. 716 (July 4, 1936), pp. 1-2.
9. EJ, L'Esprit des Livres: Série 1 (Paris:Librairie Plon, 1923), preface, p. vi.
10. Ibid.
11. Ibid.
12. EJ, Introduction à l'histoire de la littérature française: La Renaissance (Geneva:Cailier, 1947), Vol. 2, p. 188.
13. EJ, Figures étrangères (Paris:Librairie Plon, 1925), p. 188.
14. EJ, L'Esprit des Livres: Série 1, preface, p. vii.
15. EJ, "Les Livres," Excelsior, (1937). I have not been able to determine the exact date. However, it is listed on p. 64 of the dossier of Jaloux articles labeled: "Articles de Critique dans Excelsior" in the Collection Edmond Jaloux of the Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal (Paris).
16. EJ, "L'Esprit des Livres," Les Nouvelles Littéraires (July 13, 1929), p. 3.
17. EJ, Introduction à l'histoire de la littérature française: Le Moyen Age (Geneva:Cailier, 1946), Vol. 1, preface, p. 16.

18. EJ, Essences (Paris:Librairie Plon, 1952), p. 103.
19. EJ, "La Semaine Littéraire," L'Eclair (July 10, 1920).
20. EJ, Rainer Maria Rilke (Paris:Emile-Paul, 1927), preface, p. v.
21. Ibid., pp. 11-111.
22. Charles Du Bos, as quoted by Jacques Chenevière in "Hommage à Edmond Jaloux," Vie Art Cité (Lausanne: no. 6, 1949), p. 25.
23. EJ, Avec Marcel Proust, suivi de 17 lettres inédites de Proust (Paris-Geneva:La Palatine, 1953), p. 139.

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ALFONSO X ON THE AUTHORITY AND AIMS OF KINGSHIP

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Alfonso X was only one in a series of Castilian kings, but for at least two reasons his case is of particular interest in the history of Spanish political thought. In 1257 he was elected Holy Roman Emperor and, while his election never became effective, our curiosity is naturally excited about his ideas of the imperial position.¹ Furthermore, these ideas and those on royal governance are known to us through having been communicated in a number of significant works.² Although the extent of Alfonso's personal participation in these works remains undetermined, indications are that it was more than that of project underwriter.³ Ascertaining the "Alfonsine" concept becomes a highly interesting enterprise both for its importance in Spanish history and because of the long, often acrid, disputation at that time between supporters of pope and emperor over the authority of the temporal ruler. The present discussion is restricted to sketching the authority and aims of kingship as they are found in the works composed at Alfonso's command.

Previous studies of the Alfonsine concept are incomplete; they have utilized only material from the second of the seven partidas and have ignored altogether comparison with the historical record of his reign (which space prevents our considering here).⁴ Furthermore, using only the second partida as the basis for discovering Alfonsine thought has its own perils, for there have long been questions about its proper text. The matter of the relationship of the several Alfonsine legal texts has been brought up anew by the legal historian García Gallo, who calls for reexamination of manuscripts to determine new editions.⁵ In his eyes, the partidas in their present form are not a definitive work at all but a composite of stages in the redaction of a new code. While it would be interesting to study the development of the code texts, one needs for this a reproduction of the many manuscripts extant but not always available. In the meantime it seems necessary to consult a greater number of the Alfonsine works in order to confirm the authenticity of broad concepts implicitly underlying the specific provisions of the partidas and, perhaps, to find fuller expression of Alfonsine ideas.

Let us now recapitulate the meager references to empire found in the Alfonsine texts. Most of them are found in the partidas and, to a lesser degree, in the Setenario, but in neither the so-called Fuero real nor the Espéculo.

There can be no doubt, in the face of Alfonso's own words many times repeated, that as king as well as individual man he acknowledges

the spiritual authority of the pope.⁶ Moreover, we know that he attaches importance to papal confirmation of his imperial election, because he spent twenty years vainly seeking to obtain it. The inference does not follow, however, that Alfonso recognizes papal claims of supremacy extended to include the strictly temporal realm. Far from it, as references will show.

For Alfonso, the emperor is the vicar of God in the temporal world and his purpose is to deal justice (Pa II, 1, i; III, 18, ii; Set 155, 8-12). His only superior in the earthly life is the pope, to whom he owes obedience in spiritual matters, but the two powers are conceived of as being complementary and as functioning harmoniously (Pa II, prol.). The emperor is both universal monarch (or the temporal power personified) and the king of kings, namely, one ruler placed above the others because, due to man's sinful nature, disagreement always arises among equals (Pa II, 1, i). His situation in the earthly kingdom is analogous to that of Christ as King of Kings and Lord of Lords (FR I, 2, ii; 5, iv; Esp II, 1, prol.; Pa I, 4, xiii).

The imperial power is of two kinds, that possessed by right (derecho) and that in fact (fecho). In the former category belong the powers to change the law or enact a new one provided the alteration be for the common good, to clarify law, to abolish a customary usage when it proves harmful to the majority, to deal justice and declare sentence, and other actions incidental to the exercise of these principal functions (Pa II, 1, ii). Poderío de fecho includes the effective restraint, obtained by the mutual esteem of emperor and people, of criminal conduct in the realm (Pa II, 1, iii). This situation reflects the ideal, "natural" relationship. The emperor loses the good will of his people when he is clearly unjust, when he vilifies a man of his realm, or when he is cruel to the point of inspiring fear rather than love and respect (Pa II, 1, iii). This unhappy eventuality, however, escapes specific treatment since, as we shall see, its outcome lies in other hands.

The ends of imperial power are two: the protection from force of all those in the empire and the maintenance of the people in justice and right (Pa II, 1, ii), tempered by prudent mercy (Pa II, 1, iii). In accomplishing his aims, the emperor is obliged to perform the following specified duties: to remove discord among nations, to make laws by which the people in his own lands may be rightly judged, to put a check upon the arrogant and evildoers, and to protect the Christian faith and destroy its enemies (Pa II, 1, i, iv).

The relation between empire and kingship is one in which the indications point to similarity in nature and function, but to difference in

rank and power. A mild implication gives the emperor senior ranking (Pa II, 1, i), although both emperor and king are said to derive their ruling authority directly from God. In one reference they receive equal treatment when it is asserted that "ellos /el enperador e el rey/ non an mayorales sobre si quanto en las cosas temporales" (Esp V, 14, xi). Alfonso, however, attempts to elevate royal over imperial dignity when he distinguishes between the methods of succession and points out chronological precedence. The king enjoys the right to bequeath his kingdom, he says, but the emperor must be elected (Pa I, 1, xiii; II, 1, vii, viii). Besides, there were kings before there were emperors (Pa II, 1, vii).

In proceeding with the discussion of the king--one notes the concern with the concrete noun "king" rather than with the abstraction "kingship"--, 7 Alfonso first cites its meaning as "the people's guide," "the rule of the kingdom," "he who rules" (Esp II, 1, ii; Pa II, 1, vi). He then extends Aristotle's analogy of the microcosm to the political order in which the head becomes the king and the senses and limbs his officers (Pa II, 9, i; FR I, 2, ii, Esp II, 1, i; Pa II, 1, v, vii; 10, ii). Mentioning historical origins, Alfonso repeats the medieval Christian view that, differences among individual wills having brought about a state of discord, the remedy for anarchy and injustice has to be found in the form of leadership provided by a king (Pa II, 1, vii). A similar argument is used to explain the need for Alfonsine legislative reform (prol. to FR, Esp, Pa).

Because men naturally have the propensity to sin rather than to do good (Pa I, 4, ii), and are therefore incapable of maintaining perfect justice and harmony among themselves, hierarchical organization (i.e., inequality) was instituted to accomplish justice (Pa I, 6, i). Kingship, then, fills a need produced by sin's effects. Yet it is a holy office, too, for the king rules in the name of God (FR I, 5, iv; Pa II, 1, vi; 13, i), whose place in temporal affairs he takes for the administration of justice (FR I, 2, ii; IV, 25, v; Esp II, 1, prol.; Pa I, 4, xiii; II, 1, vii; 13, i, xiii; III, 18, ii). He is God's vicar in the kingdom he rules (Pa II, 1, v). Alfonso himself categorically denies any superior in temporal affairs: "por la merced de Dios no auemos mayor sobre nos en el temporal" (Pa I, 1, xiii).

Every man's first obligation is to God. This is especially true for the king, God's vicar (Pa II, 2, iv; Set 9 (22); Pa I, prol.; II, 2, prol.). The king serves his Lord in two ways: by upholding His faith and preserving it from its enemies and by dealing justice and right to each man according to his station (Pa II, 2, iv). His powers as a ruler are similar to imperial powers. The king, however, has also the right to bequeath the royal patrimony (with which the kingdom has now become identified), whereas succession to the imperial dignity remains elective. The king

enjoys two other advantages over the emperor. He can donate a town or castle as heritable property to anyone he wishes, something the emperor cannot do because he must always strive to increase, not diminish, his empire. In addition, the king can request, for the good of the land, more aid from his subjects than that accorded his predecessors in times of similar crisis while the emperor, bound by custom, lacks authority to compel help from his vassals in any greater quantity than that which his predecessors received (Pa II, 1, viii).

"Sin falla a el /al rey/ pertenesce el gobernamiento del regno," writes Alfonso, who then cites Aristotle's Politics to show that the pre-Christian kings were not only leaders in war and judges over all in the kingdom, but lords in spiritual matters as well (Pa II, 1, vi). The reference to Aristotle is merely one pointing out historical contrast, however, and should not be interpreted as implying anything more. The idea of absolutism is not only incompatible with Castilian customary law, but also seems incongruous to Alfonsine thought generally.

One notes, in Alfonso's statement that the kingdom takes its name from the king, the absence of an abstract concept of the state as a political community (Esp II, 1, ii; see GE I, 613a30-5). Political relations in the Alfonsine works are always discussed in terms of ruler and ruled or lord and vassal--that is, each party has certain obligations towards the other. Sometimes these are defined (Esp III, 1, prol.), more often they are mentioned incidentally (PCG 582b31-9).

As the champion of faith and of justice, the king, for his part, must love, honor, and protect his people (Pa II, 10, ii-iii), directing them with the understanding born of reason and the righteousness of justice (Pa II, 2, prol.). It is his duty to introduce good will and harmony among them (Pa II, 1, ix); to guide them, promote their welfare, and prevent evil (FR I, 2, ii). To him also belongs the responsibility for defense of the realm (Pa III, 28, xi), for he is there to preserve the land from its enemies (Pa II, 2, prol.). Specifically, he must surround his people with justice and truth so that they dare not transgress, and he must proclaim laws and fueros, appoint competent officers, help the helpless, extend his protection to foreigners, and keep his knights in readiness for defense of the kingdom (Pa II, 10, iii). The reward for proper performance is to be encountered in the blessed state of the other world (Pa II, 10, ii).

Precedence of interest belongs to the community, not to the individual, whether he be king or subject (Esp V, 13, xiv; Pa I, prol.; 1, i). Yet, as one would expect in a society that bases its individual political relationships on feudal and Christian practice, the individual person is assured his rights. The phrase "a cada uno" is used often, generally

with further definition to fit the special circumstance. For example, we find the statement that the king ought to love and honor his people, each according to his estate (Pa II, 1, ix; 10, prol., ii), and he must assure justice and right to each according to his deserts (Set 122, 6-7; Pa II, 10, iii; 13, xiii). The acceptance of social inequality is implicit within the general framework of a social hierarchy, and it follows that gradation in penalties accords with this scale (Pa I, 13, xix; 18, xvi). The equality of right, however, which everyone has to just treatment and consideration in law with respect to birth, personal virtue, or service is undeniable (Pa II, 10, ii).

Although the Alfonsine concept invests the king with great powers of discretion, his authority has its limits. He must not violate God's commandment, of course, nor may he contravene natural law unless it be in the public interest (Pa III, 18, xxxii). The latter occasions are usually specified, that is, when custom has become obsolete (GE I, 580a28-b6). In another case, we find that if the king wants to dispossess someone, the reason has to rest with the interest of the majority and the owner must be given just compensation (Pa III, 18, xxxi). With respect to enacted law, all men are bound to obey, but kings are singled out for emphasis because they are honored and protected by the laws, they are helped by them in their duty to execute justice and right, and, as makers of the law, they should set the example and be the first to obey (Esp., Pa I, 1, ix). In mentioning the emperor's power, Alfonso added two restrictions upon it which are not as definitely stated in the laws pertaining to kingship. The emperor is expressly bound to proceed by due process of law and must act in accordance with the common good, not as if he were the owner of the individual's possessions (Pa II, 1, ii). The tone throughout the works shows, however, that both ideas, although implicit, clearly hold also in the case of kingship.

No king has the authority to give away certain indefeasible rights of kingship. For example, in one place the law states that any royal donation--such as a town or castle or other populated place--which is made to a church or order does not include with it rights belonging to the king alone. These are enumerated as maintaining peace and order, dealing justice, waging war, and coining money (Pa I, 6, lxxviii). In another instance the proviso is made that the king reserve matters affecting his power: the grantee must leave to the king complete authority in matters of justice and appeals, he must heed the king's command to wage war and peace, he must join the royal army whenever needed, make contributions whenever other parts of the realm do, permit circulation of the king's money, and leave all mineral rights to the king. If the latter sees fit to confer usage of any of these rights by special privilege, he may do so, but only for a specified period during his own lifetime (Pa II, 15, v).

The Alfonsine works from which we have elicited the foregoing do not contain an abstract treatise on kingship for two reasons: first, the nature of the works is explanatory, for they seek to particularize from accepted generalities; second, kingship is regarded as a natural institution in the divinely established order of things and therefore not to be questioned. It heads a society conceived in terms of Christian belief and in which the world of man is the earthly, material counterpart (with the latter's imperfections) of the heavenly kingdom where Christ reigns in glory. The king is God's officer; his function is to maintain peace and justice among men whose pristine innocence has been tainted by original sin. The framework within which he operates is natural law, immutable and determined by God for the order of created things. Natural law itself is knowable to every man, but a variety of specific conditions in human society requires a practical guide for the measurement of human conduct. Explaining the divine-natural law results in the particularization of its generalities and this result, known as positive law, serves as the needed guide for both judge and judged. To form the law-making power, the "explanation" of higher law is combined with the power of amendment (occasionally required by changing conditions to meet the specific needs of society in applicable terms embodying the spirit of divine-natural law). Alfonso's code texts thus represent execution of the king's judicial function by clarifying divine-natural law in detail to a degree thought sufficient for the administration of justice and the guarantee of equity.

The king is responsible to God, Whom he represents in the realm of temporal justice, and he answers to Him for misconduct. If the king oversteps the bounds of the law and commits an injustice, he becomes a "tyrant" because he violates both the spirit of justice and the letter of the law (Pa II, 1, x; GE IV, 176a-b). The people cannot, however, overthrow him when this happens. They are bound by their oath of allegiance and can be released only when the king violates a feudal contract, that is, a private agreement among individuals. As subjects, the people have no recourse whatever, beyond petition for redress, because of the divine origin of kingship. This not only points up the hierarchization of the political order, but also shows plainly the erroneousness of attributing to Alfonso any theory of compact between king and people. "Ruler and ruled" is the correct description of their relationship, whatever the historical origins may have been. Characterizing the king's rule as absolutist also must be qualified. As Solalinde has pointed out, there is neither mention nor implication of arbitrariness in the General estoria's discussion of the saying "alla van leys o mandan reys."⁸ In the actual machinery he sets up for governing and dealing justice, the king has full powers of discretion. Nevertheless he, too, is subject to the law and his actions are limited by the moral implications of it and, ultimately, of religion. Theory does not include an effective coercive

check upon his action and leaves to God the punishment for tyranny. Meanwhile, the law seeks to inculcate virtue by means of exhortation and example.

Emperor and king fulfill a dual purpose in bringing peace and justice among men (Pa II, 1, vii). Institutionally their position rests on a series of reciprocal obligations betraying Roman, Christian, and feudal origins,⁹ but the king, whom God has made His representative and to whom He has entrusted the care of His people in their worldly affairs, bears a heavy responsibility in the maintenance of justice. Violation of his trust draws forth the divine wrath. Between king and subject there is no legal compact but a divinely ordained hierarchical scheme in which the king occupies the superior position yet is bound by limits to his power and by obligations which inhibit wayward tendencies toward tyranny. Expansion and elaboration of this implicit scheme and comparison of its practicable provisions with the story of Alfonso's reign present one with a fascinating challenge for further study.

NOTES

1. A bibliography on Alfonso and the imperial election is contained in Antonio Ballesteros Beretta, "Itinerario de Alfonso X, Rey de Castilla," Boletín de la Academia de la Historia, CVI (1935), 109-112.
2. Works used: Fuero real (cited as FR) in Opúsculos legales del Rey Don Alfonso el Sabio, ed. Real Academia de la Historia (Madrid, 1836), II, 3-169; Setenario (Set), ed. Kenneth H. Vanderford (Buenos Aires, 1945); Espéculo (Esp) in Opúsculos legales del Rey Don Alfonso el Sabio, ed. Real Academia de la Historia (Madrid, 1836), I; Fuero de las leyes (Pa), (I) Additional MS. 20787 of the British Museum, (II-VII), Las siete partidas, ed. Real Academia de la Historia (Madrid, 1807), II-III; Estoria de Espanna (PCG) in Primera crónica general, ed. Ramón Menéndez Pidal, Nueva Biblioteca de Autores Españoles, V (Madrid, 1906; 2d ed., 1955), I; General estoria (GE), (I) General estoria: primera parte, ed. Antonio G. Solalinde (Madrid, 1930), (IV) MS. 539 of the Vatican Urb. Lat.
3. Solalinde, "Intervención de Alfonso X en la redacción de sus obras," Revista de Filología Española, II (1915), 283-288; Gonzalo Menéndez Pidal, "Cómo trabajaron las escuelas alfonsinas," Nueva Revista de Filología Hispánica, V (1951), 363-380; Ramón Menéndez Pidal in introd. to 2d ed. of the Primera crónica general, pp. xvii-xx.
4. R. W. and A. J. Carlyle, A History of Mediaeval Political Theory in the West (Edinburgh and London, 1928), V; John Francis Bricca, "Alfonso el Sabio and Niccolò Machiavelli or The Return to the Pagan Idea of the State," unpubl. diss. (Harvard, 1942).

5. Alfonso García Gallo, "El 'Libro de las leyes' de Alfonso el Sabio: Del Espéculo a las Partidas," Anuario de Historia del Derecho Español, XXI-XXII (1951-52), 345-528.
6. Pa I, 5, iii, iv et passim.
7. See remarks on this point by Herbert A. VanScoy, "Alfonso X as a Lexicographer," Hispanic Review, VIII (1940), 283-284.
8. Solalinde, "Alla van leys o mandan reys," Revista de Filología Española, III (1916), 299.
9. See Ewart Lewis, Medieval Political Ideas (New York, 1954), I, 193 et seq. Mrs. Lewis' fourth source, revived Aristotelianism, is not chronologically relevant in the case of Alfonso.

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MARTIN OPITZ' TRANSLATIONS FROM THE DUTCH

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The role which Daniel Heinsius, the successor of Scaliger at Leiden, played in the efforts of Opitz to elevate the state of German letters and language has received limited recognition and that only in general terms. Of those scholars who have written on Opitz, Georg Witkowski at the beginning of the present century gives the most objective, factual account of this chapter in Opitz' short but crowded career.¹ Two dissertations deal specifically with our subject. In 1872 Julius Bernhard Muth published his very slender monograph, Über das Verhältnis von Martin Opitz zu Daniel Heinsius (Leipzig). It is a faithful summary of the known facts of the relationship, focusing rather too narrowly on what was after all only one of Opitz' many contacts. As a consequence the little work suffers from an over-emphasis upon external facts and hence gives a somewhat distorted representation of the importance of Heinsius in the career of Opitz. In an effort to correct this, Richard Beckherrn wrote a dissertation in 1888, M. Opitz, P. Ronsard, und D. Heinsius (Königsberg). He begins with an attack on the views of Gervinus,² then criticizes Muth who had followed Gervinus' appraisal faithfully. Beckherrn finds that Heinsius as a formative influence in Opitz' career represents at most an intermediate stage, the actual chain being Ronsard-Heinsius-Opitz. Ronsard, says Beckherrn, is the chief guide for Opitz; when Opitz becomes confused on Ronsard's pathway he turns anxiously to the man who had made this journey before him--Heinsius. Oddly, this conclusion is stated at the very beginning of Beckherrn's study, thus giving rise to the suspicion that the author is more concerned with substantiating what is in itself a respectable and defensible thesis than with permitting the conclusion to emerge from the facts.

Both Muth and Beckherrn give little more than a true report of the facts of the Heinsius-Opitz relationship. The broad significance of this contact from the point of view of providing insight into and understanding of the real nature and activity of these two men, and further, of the spirit of the age in which they labored, is too greatly ignored. Why was Opitz for a period of about seven years--the most decisive years of his life--so greatly preoccupied, off and on, with Daniel Heinsius? What will a closer study of the circumstances which attended Opitz' translation of Dutch originals reveal regarding his probable aims and interests? Such a study, particularly of Opitz' work and of Heinsius' major effort, De Lof-sanck van Jesus Christus, will furnish at least a fuller understanding not only of the men and of their works but of the temper of the times as well. Neither Heinsius nor Opitz can be judged adequately by a narrow regard for the mere facts without the background on which these

facts depend for their meanings.

The first mention by Opitz of his Dutch contemporary occurs in Aristarchus, sive de contemptu linguae teutonicae. Composed in 1617, the little work is commonly regarded as the first announcement of Opitz' program. This is not quite accurate. Already the young Reformator had, in a little known speech, given probably before he left Beuthen, indicated in a general way the direction his efforts were to take:

Wir unternehmen gefahrvolle und kostbare Reisen
ins Ausland und ringen mit allen Kräften danach, uns und dem
Vaterlande nicht mehr ähnlich zu scheinen. Während wir mit
massloser Begier die fremde Sprache erlernen, bringen wir
die unsrige in Verachtung. Eher sollten wir streben, gleich
wie wir von Franzosen und Italienern Geist und Eleganz
erborgen, auch unsere Sprache nach ihrem Vorbilde zu
glätten und auszubilden.....³

Opitz' tribute to Heinsius in Aristarchus is in the effusive, superlative fashion of the period. We know of course that Opitz constantly and effectively cultivated his gift for forming advantageous friendships. His behavior has been criticized for a lack of candor or for a too exclusive self-seeking. It is, in this instance, just as likely that we have here the measure of the genuine esteem in which the prodigy, Heinsius, was held not by Opitz alone, but by all of Europe during the first quarter of the seventeenth century. To overlook this is simply to miss a vital part of the total picture, and certainly to be less than just to Opitz. For at the age of twenty Heinsius already had a reputation as a composer of elegant poetry in impeccable Latin and Greek. Upon his arrival at Leiden in 1601 he was addressed in a poetic welcome by no less a personage than the renowned Janus Dousa. In short, at the time of Opitz' earliest literary contact with Heinsius, the latter stood at the pinnacle of his European fame and there is no reason to doubt the genuineness of Opitz' admiration.

Whether Opitz while composing Aristarchus had already become familiar with Heinsius' major work, the Nederduytsche Poemata (1616), is a matter of dispute. Both Muth and Beckherrn believe that Opitz did consult the Dutch collection; he probably had become acquainted with some of Heinsius' work even before 1616.⁴ They point to the probability that Opitz had access to the Poemata through one or more sources: Scultetus, Opitz' friend, had a rich library which would at once acquire so famous a collection of the new Renaissance vernacular literature as the Poemata; Caspar Kirchner, Opitz' cousin and a specialist

in Dutch literature (he even wrote in the language), could have been Opitz' source. Opitz was in close contact with both men. Witkowski's dissent, and an unequivocal one it is, may be accounted for by his apparent belief that the Poemata appeared in 1618, which would of course make it unavailable to Opitz during the year in question. The date of publication, however, is 1616.⁵ At any rate Heinsius' name and fame were known to Opitz from an earlier anthology of Dutch poetry, Den Bloem-Hof van de Nederlantsche Jeught geplant... (1608), which contained several pieces by Heinsius for which Opitz expressed his admiration. Thus Heinsius seems to have been familiar to Opitz at an early date.

The arguments employed by Opitz in Aristarchus favoring the composition of poetry in the native language are in many cases echoes of the non-poetic sections of the Poemata. The critical maxims in the latter work are set forth in the lengthy "Voor-reden"--in part by Heinsius, in part by his editor and friend, Scriverius. They contain--indispensable to the mentality of the period--the critical justification for a venture so bold as the composition of poetry in the native tongue.

Heinsius the critic continued to exercise a strong influence on Opitz long after Aristarchus. The fourth chapter of the Buch von der deutschen Poeterei has extensive borrowings from Scriverius' "Voor-reden" to Heinsius' Poemata; oddly Opitz does not in this instance mention the source.⁶ Beckherrn in fact believes that those parts of the Poeterei upon which Opitz' claim to eminence rests today, namely the rules for the composition of poetry, come largely from the Poemata and perhaps to a minor degree from Heinsius' formal poetics of an earlier date (1611), De tragoeiae constitutione liber; however, this latter work may not have been known very well by Opitz.

Thus from 1617 to 1624 Opitz shows in the bulk of his work, poetical and critical, a close reliance on Heinsius. This is not meant to reiterate the old charge of Opitz' lack of originality. The fact is that almost none of the writing on formal poetics and even on poetry at this time was original: Opitz borrowed from Heinsius, Heinsius from Ronsard, all rely on Scaliger who faithfully follows the ancients, and all of them verbatim.

In 1620 Opitz was forced to leave Heidelberg because of the impending invasion by the Spanish-Walloon army under Spinola. In the company of his friend, Albert Hamilton, he made his way northward, arriving eventually in Jütland. During a sojourn at Leiden he made the personal acquaintance of Heinsius and no doubt of other Dutch poets and scholars. Either before this journey, as seems not unlikely, or some time during the winter in Jütland, Opitz translated Heinsius' chief

single work, the Lof-sanck van Jesus Christus. This work is of great historical and intrinsic interest; this fact and the way Opitz used it deserve a closer examination.

Even the most recent critical evaluation of Daniel Heinsius, while paying tribute to his genuine contributions to Dutch letters, does not dispel the ambiguous opinion which seventeenth century contemporaries held regarding the great scholar.⁷ Already known as a youth, he continued at Leiden a career of sustained scholarly brilliance resulting in numerous major publications; yet his personal life is marred by strong moral deficiencies. He died an embittered, jealous, frustrated, ego-centric man. Van Es, one of the more just of Heinsius' critics, detects in him a burning psychological conflict; an overpowering sensuality versus a much sought for spirituality which was perhaps more verbal than actual--an inability to make for himself an acceptable mediation between the paganism of the ancient classics, which he undoubtedly loved, and the rigors of an all too combative Calvinistic theism.

This clash is most dramatically shown in the two longer works, the Hymnus oft Lofsanck van Bacchus (1614) and the Lof-sanck van Jesus Christus (1616), both translated by Opitz. The first of these is a completely pagan, albeit perhaps a playful glorification of the animal pleasures of life. Heinsius sent the poem to Scrivener who published it although it was very likely not intended for the public. That the author was apprehensive about its possible effect may be seen from the detailed "Voorreden" which he sent later to Scrivener. The meaning and interpretation ostensibly intended by the poet do not, however, seem compatible with the content and spirit of the work. The Greek gods and their dubious doings, we are told, are to be understood satirically and symbolically; he wishes "hare schanden ende leelickheden ontdecken" (p. 99), etc. To bolster his argument Heinsius cites the authors, ancient and modern, pagan and Christian, who have similarly criticized the ancient gods. This excursion incidentally affords Heinsius the opportunity to display his prodigious erudition. But he also uses the examples of Scaliger and Ronsard as earlier authors on this theme to explain another part of his intention. These men, Heinsius argues, while writing eulogies of Bacchus did so primarily to test the suppleness and potentialities of languages other than Greek. Now Heinsius wishes to associate himself with this effort.⁸ This feature is worth noting since the intent here expressed would be sufficient by itself to induce Opitz, in his zeal to improve the German language and to encourage native poetry, to translate the work. Be all this as it may, Van Es finds all this explaining a rationalization, an effort to anticipate and disarm a possibly negative reception; he finds the Bacchus an expression of Heinsius' passionate nature, an exhibition of pagan vitalism.

Two years later (1616) there appeared the complete antithesis, De Lof-sanck van Jesus Christus. The juxtaposition, so close in time, of two such completely antithetical works remains baffling. Opinions vary: Heinsius' contemporary, Revius, hails the author as the founder of a new lyricism, Christian-Calvinistic. In our own century the critic, Ter Horst, sees in this work no more than a skillful maneuver by the author to rehabilitate a reputation for orthodoxy which had been dangerously compromised by the publication of Bacchus. Van Es objects to this interpretation which makes of Heinsius a sheer hypocrite; he concludes that the irreconcilable clash in spirit existing between the two works is a true reflection of a most genuine and unresolved Zwiespalt in the heart of the poet.

Scriverius published this Lof-sanck also and this time he himself supplied the detailed commentary in the form of "Vytlegginge." The unusual manner in which this was done deserves some attention. In the case of Bacchus these explanatory notes were sent to Scriverius after the composition of the piece, and are placed following the text. In the Christus the notes are placed within the text, that is, they form a running commentary on the poetic passage just preceding. The curious effect of this technique is that the poem loses much of its character as a poem and assumes the form of a theological apologia in verse. The notes themselves are exhaustive, theologically minute expositions of cardinal Christian doctrines, thus indicating that the curious effect mentioned above was probably intentional. There is a continuous appeal to the church fathers for substantiation of theological statements in Heinsius' work. Indeed it must be admitted that the opinion that the major purpose of the Lof-sanck was to reestablish a shaky reputation for doctrinal soundness receives considerable support. Yet this line of interpretation seems to go beyond the bounds of just and objective criticism. The later deterioration in Heinsius' character plays too great a role, we feel, in the formation of this harsh opinion on an early work. Heinsius composed the Christus at the age of thirty-six while at the height of his fame; he lived for almost forty years after its composition. There seems to be no valid reason for doubting the sincerity of Heinsius' complex spirit in both the works in dispute. The phenomenon of tortured antithetical feelings and the genuineness of both poles within one individual is certainly familiar enough in the seventeenth century.

Whatever ideological and theological involvement is reflected in the work, it is clear that Opitz is not concerned with it. The "Vytlegginge," that is, the meaning of the poem, its Gehalt, Opitz, while very well aware of it, ignores almost entirely except for the mere mention that the content of the work he has chosen to translate is certainly universally acceptable. It is thus technique, not matter, which interests Opitz, a fact which he states explicitly: that in trans-

lating the Lobgesang his aim was "mit vnserem Deutschen dergleichen versuch zue thun."¹⁹ Indeed this is the purpose of all of Opitz' translation activity. Those who have criticized Opitz from his own day to ours for his lack of poetic feeling and depth and for his lack of originality forget that he is, in the first place, no more unoriginal than many seventeenth century poets, and secondly, that Opitz really set for himself the sole task of dignifying the German language as a poetic vehicle which for him implied a fundamental reform in metrics. And even this claim to recognition, this direction, Opitz owes to the one man who composed in a language close enough to his own in structure and sound so that he could serve as a most direct model--not Ronsard but Daniel Heinsius.

In 1584, three of the leaders of the Amsterdam Rederyker-Kamer (Chamber of Rhetoric) published a normative grammar, Kort begrip, leerende recht Duits spreken. One of its authors was Heinsius' friend, Roemer Visscher, a man of considerable importance in Dutch literary history. The publication is relevant for two reasons. First, it contains an appeal to the learned scholars at Leiden to take the lead in bringing the mother tongue to a place of honor. (Heinsius was the only one of the professors who, to a considerable extent, heeded this wish.) Second, this manual is the first authoritative source seeking to establish a new rule for versification, the "Regelmässigkeit der Hebungen und Senkungen," and this forty years before Das Buch von der deutschen Poeterei. When Heinsius in the Nederduytsche Poemata faithfully and successfully implemented this regulation, small wonder indeed that Opitz felt so strongly drawn to imitate and translate this man's work.

The lives and work of Heinsius and Opitz exhibit a number of coincidental parallels which are almost astonishing: both conscious innovators, both champions of a native poetry, both criticized by a later generation for lacking gifts which neither claimed strongly to possess, both suffering an eclipse of prestige--Heinsius unhappily during the later years of his long life, a fate spared Opitz probably only because of an early death. Heinsius contains in germ--and explicitly--almost everything which made Opitz the "Bahnbrecher der neuen deutschen Verskunst." Opitz himself recognized this and his honest tribute to Heinsius is perhaps not even a factual exaggeration:

Ich auch, weil ihr mir seyt im Schreiben vorgegangen,
Was ich für Ruhm und Ehr durch Hochteutsch werd
erlangen,
Will meinem Vatterland bekennen ohne schew,
Dass ewre Poesy der meinen Mutter sey.

NOTES

1. Georg Witkowski, Martin Opitz, Deutsche Poemata, Neudrucke deutscher Litteraturwerke des XVI. und XVII. Jahrhunderts, 189-192, (Halle a. S., 1902); hereafter referred to as Witkowski.
2. Georg G. Gervinus, Geschichte der poetischen Nationalliteratur der Deutschen, 4. Auf 1., Bd. III.
3. See F. W. Barthold, Geschichte der Fruchtbringenden Gesellschaft (Berlin, 1848), p. 87; the original speech appears in the rare Danzig edition of Opitz' works, 1640 (1641-?), p. 8.
4. The following, taken from Opitz' introduction to his translation of Lof-sanck van Jesus Christus (Witkowski, p. 167), could be interpreted as showing a knowledge of Heinsius prior to 1616: "Als mir vor wenig Jaren etliche Holländische Reime, auff welche art dieser Lobgesang gemacht ist, zue handen gestossen, haben sie mir, Günstiger Leser, wegen sonderer bequemigkeit sehr gefallen..." Or the "etliche Reime" could refer to the Poemata itself since Opitz translated the Christus from it in 1619 or 1620.
5. Witkowski, pp. xxv, xxx (2), xlvi (149); it cannot be said with certainty that Witkowski believed the Poemata to have been published in 1618 for the first time, but he gives no reason for his positive assertion that in 1618 Opitz did not have the Poemata; the most recent and accurate information on Heinsius is to be found in Geschiedenis Van de Letterkunde der Nederlanden, ed. F. Baur and others, vol. IV (G. A. van Es, G. S. Overdiep, J. Brouwer); hereafter the reference Van Es is to vol. IV.
6. Dan. Heinsii Nederduytsche Poemata, uytgegeven door P. S. (criverius) (Amsterdam, 1618), "Voor-reden," p. 5; M. Opitz, Buch von der deutschen Poeterei, Neudrucke deutscher Litteraturwerke, 1, ed. W. Braune, pp. 18-19. Scrivenerius, loc. cit.: "Petrus Ronsardus... den welcken men segt dat twaelff geheele jaren besich is geweest om hem inde Grieksche tale te oeffenen...." Opitz, loc. cit.: "Ronsardus von deme gesaget wird, das er, damit er sein Frantzösisches desto besser auswirgen köndte, mit der Griechen schriften gantzer zwölff jahr sich vberworffen habe..." The edition of the Poemata used here is dated 1618, thus a second or third edition.
7. See Van Es, chap. "Daniel Heinsius."
8. Heinsius, op. cit., p. 101: "Dese hebbende ghelesen, ende my daer over seer verwondert, hebbe eens willen sien, of oock onse spraec soo onbequaem is als vele lieden meynen."
9. See Note 4.

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THE CLASSICS: A SCHOOL FOR WORLD LEADERS

By C. E. Van Sickle, Ohio Wesleyan University

Nearly eighteen centuries have passed since the last great masterpieces of Greek and Latin literature were written, and the civilization which produced them has ceased to exist. Another culture, much more complex and sophisticated, has taken its place: the world of the bow and the spear has given way to that of the hydrogen bomb and the jet-propelled bomber. Yet the literature which records the thoughts and deeds of the Greeks and Romans has never ceased to provide entertainment, counsel, and encouragement to readers in every subsequent generation.

Today, however, bewildered and confused men and women may well ask whether the magic power which Homer, Thucydides, Aristotle, or Virgil have always had as guides to the perplexed still survives. We seek, and we must find, a formula by which the various segments of the human race can live side by side in peace and justice, so that the hydrogen bomb and the jet-propelled bomber will not destroy us. Can the Greek and Latin classics aid us in our search? I believe that they can.

Our doubts as to the efficacy of the old guides arise from the assumption that we are confronting problems which are entirely different from those which beset former generations. This assumption is false. It is true that the problems appear in new dress, and that they cannot be cured by the old remedies without the addition of some new ingredients. But for all that they have very close analogies in the past, and we can learn much by seeing how other men dealt with them. Thus, we think of totalitarianism as a distinctive twentieth-century phenomenon; but ancient Sparta had all the essential features of a totalitarian state, including a force of secret police and an "iron curtain." In fact, the whole party system of ancient Greece bears a startlingly close resemblance to that which separated Europe into two armed camps in the 1930's.

If we look behind these perennially recurring phenomena to the causes which produced them, we see at once that the recurrence was no accident. For a very few cosmic forces have guided our destinies through the ages. The two basic factors in history are human nature and the physical world in which man lives; and neither has changed noticeably since prehistoric times. Hence, it is not strange that events tend to move in well-worn grooves. Of course, history does not exactly "repeat itself." No two historic cycles are composed of exactly the

same series of events; but they often resemble each other closely enough to enable the observer to see the same causes producing the same results throughout the ages. Where it is merely a case of naked human nature acting in a relatively simple environment, the sequence of cause and effect is close enough to make prediction fairly safe. Thus, our friends the economists do not hesitate to refer to that epitome of human selfishness called "Gresham's Law." Other examples could be cited of patterns of human conduct which may properly be called "laws." I hope I have not overemphasized this point. I do not intend to intimate that historic cause and effect possess the same mechanical inevitability as a chemical reaction; but they are dependable enough to lighten the darkness of the future measurably, and to guide the statesman in the formation of policies.

Now the Graeco-Roman past and the literature which records it have for us a unique value which neither the Mesopotamian, Egyptian, Chinese, Indian, Saracen, Medieval Christian, or New World segments of the human past possess. All of the others have made contributions to our cultural heritage, and for that reason deserve our attention; but the Graeco-Roman segment has two decisive advantages over the others:

1. Its institutions, aesthetic tastes, and thought processes are nearer to our own than are those of any civilization in the world.
2. The quality of the records which preserve our knowledge of it--in short, Greek and Roman literature--is easily superior to any other.

The first does not need much elaboration. To the Greeks and Romans we owe the various types of republican government, which the Greeks classified and named. Carthage was the only important Semitic city-state republic, and we look in vain for examples of this form of government elsewhere in the ancient world. Moreover, the Greeks were the creators of philosophia--that combination of theoretical approach, rational method, and systematic organization of results from which was to spring modern philosophy and science. In the physical sciences the Greeks accomplished little that was permanently valuable; but in the social sciences and philosophy their best work still commands respect. Among historians, perhaps Herodotus, and certainly Thucydides and Polybius, reach the full stature of their profession; while in political theory it is probable that Plato and Aristotle have never been surpassed. Later on the Stoicks and Cynics laid down the principle of the brotherhood of man, without which a world government would be an intolerable organ of oppression.

In historiography we begin with Herodotus, whose work is factually the least reliable of the three greatest Greek historians, but whose story of the Graeco-Persian wars is believed to be essentially true. Thucydides and Polybius do much better. Each is meticulous to the point of pedantry on questions of fact; but this is only the first of many virtues. Each of them was a politician and a soldier who had played a not-unimportant part in the events which he chronicled, and who tells his story with the sure touch of one who has been not only a spectator but also an actor in the drama. Each describes a different phase in the central fact of Greek history--the strife of the Oligarchs and the Commons.

Here is a phenomenon which the leaders in world affairs cannot afford to neglect. As stated above, the party struggle in Classical Greece offers us a micro-cosmic preview of the strife between the "Free World" and Communistic totalitarianism. The parallelism is startling: international parties, based upon fundamental economic differences, a struggle for power waged not only by ballot but also by revolution; partisan traitors who betray country in the interest of party; a powerful state heading each party, and waging campaigns of aggression in the interest of party, as Nazi Germany was doing twenty years ago and Communist Russia is trying to do today. There is hardly a point of importance in the one era which does not have a close analogy in the other. In addition, the reader receives the observations of these great minds on many other phases of war, government, and diplomacy which transcend the Greek scene from which they originally sprang and become commentaries on universal human problems. Even the lesser historians, such as Plutarch, often have valuable hints to give and stories to tell. The Greek and Roman historians are the first "departmental faculty" in the "Classical School for World Leaders."

It is a bit of tragic irony that the Romans, among the world's most successful empire-builders, produced so little that can be called political theory, while the Greeks, who never achieved political unity, never established stable governments in their principal states, rarely by compromise overcame the threat of civil war, have left us brilliant studies in the art of government. Their political thought reaches its culmination in the Republic and Laws of Plato and the Politics of Aristotle, who treat the Greek city-state as the highest manifestation of human statesmanship.

Nevertheless, when all that relates exclusively to the Greek scene has been subtracted from these masterpieces of Greek thought, there remains in each a core of political philosophy which applies to the problem of government in every age and every country. The theories

expressed in them may not always be valid, and in the nature of the case cannot be so; for the Republic and the Politics are usually at odds on basically important questions. But, right or wrong, each interpretation is an incomparable statement of one point of view on the question at issue, and, whether accepted or not, serves to stimulate thought and to clarify the reader's own opinions. It is the measure of the greatness of these superb intellects that they saw beneath the often petty squabbles of city-state politics to those elemental forces in human motivation which shape the destinies of governments and societies in every age and country.

This element of "timelessness" makes the political teachings of those princes of Greek philosophy, whether one accepts them or not, valuable guides to the potential leaders of world thought in our time. It is almost axiomatic that no age sees itself in what subsequent ages will call its true light. We can easily see how our forebears misinterpreted the forces which directed their destinies. But what about ourselves? There is no guarantee that we are not pursuing equally unreal will-o'-the-wisps; but if, by contact with works of such elemental sweep and power as the Republic or the Politics, we can catch a glimpse of ourselves in the perspective of the ages, then we may be able to avoid a few of the pitfalls which lie in the path ahead.

By the statement of my subject I am confined to a single phase of Platonic and Aristotelian thought: their possibilities as guides for potential world leaders. In this each must be treated separately, for each is almost the diametric opposite of the other.

Plato approaches the problem of government from the viewpoint of abstract justice as a force in human affairs. This attitude emphasizes the class and the abstraction to the near-exclusion of the individual. Hence, non-conforming individuals must be educated or coerced into conformity, and the state becomes an authoritarian police-agency, ruled by an aristocracy of professional philosophers, whose infallible findings, based upon cosmic ideas, dominate every phase of human life. The close correspondence between Plato's ideal and the contemporary Spartan reality is obvious. Sparta was a totalitarian state, and Plato becomes the champion of totalitarianism. Hence, the Republic and the Laws are textbooks upon which a world order might be based, but it would be a totalitarian world-order, like the communist and fascist dictatorships of our own age.

I am aware that to compare the Platonic Utopia with the mundane creations of Stalin, Hitler, Mussolini, and Franco smacks of philosophic blasphemy, and the present writer does not claim that modern totalitarianism is a conscious imitation of Plato's philosophy, in either its theo-

retical or its practical phases. But let us compare the two for fundamental resemblances and differences. In each, we find a society pledging its allegiance to a mystical ideal, in the interest of which the state dominates every phase of thought and action. Education is state-controlled, and the curriculum is shaped by expurgation, distortion, and falsification. Political organization lays bare equally suggestive parallels. The "philosopher king" becomes a secretary-general of the Communist Party, a Duce, a Fuehrer, or a Caudillo. The "guardians" become metamorphosed into members of a dominant party--Communist, Fascist, Nazi, or Falange. They are small, elite groups, chosen for personal ability and devotion to the regime. Surely, the pursuit of the ideal brings the same result in all of these cases.

Such is the form in which Plato's ideal has become realized in the modern world. It may be taken for granted that he would have vigorously disowned his bloodstained and tyrannical spiritual progeny; but we may well ask if there is any inevitable logical sequence between such an ideal state and the record of modern totalitarianism. Can such a state exist without coercing or liquidating non-conformists? Perhaps it would be rash to assert that a philosophy so full of noble aims must always serve to rationalize war, tyranny, secret police, the concentration camp, and the gas chamber. Perhaps a global statesman may yet arise who will make the principles of the world's greatest idealist the basis for a new and better world order based upon justice as we know it; but if it does, it will mark a new departure in the trend of Plato's historic influence.

Unlike his teacher, Aristotle was, as all men know, a prosaic pragmatist, whose approach to the problem of government was from the realm of the real and the factual. His Politics, therefore, is not an exposition of abstract justice at work in the world, but a textbook on actual governments, compiled from data gathered by trained assistants and organized by his own matchless intellect. It contains no chart for an ideal state; he is interested only in discovering the principles upon which actual governments are founded and how each type can be made to function at the peak of its possible efficiency. What, then, can the modern world leader learn from him about cures for the world's ills?

For the problem as a whole he has no categorical solution. It is doubtful whether he would have thought of a world-government as feasible. Greek experience with extensive combinations like the Athenian Empire or the Peloponnesian League had shown that they always degenerated into organs of oppression. But he has a great wealth of individual suggestions which, if they do not chart a course toward perfection,

may improve the present world-order. Good government, he says repeatedly, represents a complex adjustment of many conditions, animate and inanimate. One society may need a monarchy to keep it in balance; another, an aristocracy or a conservative democracy. In any case, one should not seek for perfection but only for the best solution possible under the circumstances. Once a certain type of government has been decided upon, the governing class or sovereign should study how to strengthen it against the perils which all governments must face. Foresight, wisdom, valor, and "sweet reasonableness" toward one's fellow citizens are his unglamorous prescriptions for the avoidance of trouble.

Aristotle's ideas are never very inspiring, for studied moderation is never likely to be, but it has possibilities that our generation may well heed. Any permanent improvement in the lot of man is likely to be attained by slow steps and painstaking application rather than by swift and revolutionary means. At worst, one may gain from the Politics an approach to the question of world relations which would lessen a few of the worst ills.

I remarked above that a world government without a universally adopted ideal of world brotherhood would certainly become an organ of oppression. It fell to the lot of the Stoic and Cynic philosophers to form and propagate the doctrine of world citizenship and human brotherhood in the Roman Empire. Quotations embodying the ideal of human brotherhood are widely though thinly scattered through the literature of the Roman Empire. I shall give only three, of which two were written by an emperor and one by a freedman.

In his Meditations, the Emperor M. Aurelius says: "...man, a citizen of the supreme city of which all the cities of the world are but houses and families" (III, 2).

"To me as Antoninus, Rome is a city and a fatherland: as a man, the world" (VI, 44).

But the poor freedman Epictetus, one of the greatest of the later Stoics, has a similar vision:

If what the philosophers say about the relationship between God and man be true, what has anyone to do but, like Socrates, when asked of what country he is a citizen, never to say that he is a citizen of Athens or of Corinth, but rather of the whole world? (I, 9)

Brave and inspiring words, which may some day be realized!

Such are a few of the more outstanding products of the Classical literature which offer guidance of one or another sort to our perplexed global thinkers. They afford us no panacea for our ills. If they had had one to give us, our present predicament would never have occurred. Nevertheless, the message of hope is present. Greek and Roman historians tell us that men have triumphed before over seemingly insurmountable obstacles. The dynamic Plato and the methodical Aristotle urge us to attack our problems with courage and confidence. If their specific ideas are inapplicable they, at least, stimulate modern thinkers to use their respective methods--brilliant intuition on the one hand and observation on the other. From one or the other, or from a combination of them both, may yet come the long-sought answer. The world of the bow and the spear has still a message for the world of the hydrogen bomb and the jet-propelled bomber.

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RECENT BOOKS IN THE FIELD OF
MEDIAEVAL LITERATURE *

Siegfried Beyschlag. Die Metrik der mittelhochdeutschen Blütezeit in Grundzügen, 2nd ed. Nuremberg, Verlag Hans Carl, 1955. Pp. 54. DM. 5.80.

This résumé of some of the basic material in Andreas Heusler's Deutsche Versgeschichte is useful for students and for ready reference. The introductory material is somewhat longer than in the first edition, and so are the paragraphs on Spruch and Leich.

Gustave Cohen. Anthologie du drame liturgique en France au Moyen-Âge. Préface du P. Roguet, O.P. Paris, Editions du Cerf, 1955 ("Lex Orandi, Collection du Centre de Pastorale liturgique," 19). Pp. 290.

In twenty carefully selected texts we see the evolution of the liturgical drama in France from the tenth century to the thirteenth. Six are Easter plays; ten, Christmas plays; two, on the life of St. Nicholas; one, the Sponsus of Limoges; one, the Ludus Paschalis of Origny-Sainte Benoîte.

F. C. Copleston. Aquinas. Baltimore, Penguin Books, 1955. Pp. 263. \$0.85.

Father Copleston's remarkable short survey of Aquinas' thought is shorn of all externals such as biography and temporal backgrounds. In the brief scope of a paper-back Pelican we have a highly compressed and readable history of the ideas of St. Thomas and of Thomists down to the present. He shows the shifting interpretations of Thomism with clarity, judiciousness, and tolerance.

Gerhard Eis. Wahrsagetexte des Spätmittelalters aus Handschriften und Inkunabeln. Bielefeld, Erich Schmidt Verlag, 1956 ("Texte des späten Mittelalters," I). Pp. 75. DM. 5.80.

Eis' chrestomathy of divinatory manuals in the late Middle Ages offers a valuable key to many superstitions and other ideas prevalent in

*In each subsequent issue of the Kentucky Foreign Language Quarterly significant books received for review will be listed with short annotations. The classical, mediaeval, Romance and Germanic fields will be covered in rotation.

the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. These texts are difficult to find in other editions, and fortunately Eis has provided a short glossary. The prophetic texts (e.g., those dealing with the weather) are of the type later parodied by Rabelais.

Hieronymus Emser. Eyn deutsche Satyra. Ed. by Robert T. Clark, Jr. Bielefeld, Erich Schmidt Verlag, 1956 ("Texte des späten Mittelalters," 3). Pp. 43. DM. 3.80.

This text is based on the only printed edition (1505) of Emser's Satyra, with the necessary textual emendations. There are notes on Emser's relations to Erasmus, and considerable attention is given to the language of the Satyra.

Janet M. Ferrier. Forerunners of the French Novel. An Essay on the Development of the Nouvelle in the Later Middle Ages. Manchester, University Press, 1954. Pp. 124. 12s. 6d.

This study of the rise of the mediaeval nouvelle in France takes us up to the early Renaissance, and it shows the organic connection between the prose romance of the Middle Ages and modern fiction. By the late fifteenth century the nouvelle was a rather sterile genre, but it was rehabilitated in the next century, notably by Marguerite de Navarre. There is no bibliography, unfortunately, but there is an index.

Ernest Hoepffner. Les Troubadours dans leur vie et dans leurs œuvres. Paris, Armand Colin, 1955 ("Collection Armand Colin, Section de langues et littératures," 10). Pp. 244. Fr. 250.

This history of Old Provençal poetry and its cultural background is an admirable survey, stripped of unessential details and replete with wisdom and enthusiasm. He studies some fifteen troubadours between the times of William IX and Cerveri. There are samples of troubadour poetry in the original and in translation.

Arthur Hübner, ed. Der Ackermann aus Böhmen. 2nd ed. Leipzig, Hirzel, 1954 ("Altdeutsche Quellen," herausgegeben von Ulrich Pretzel, 1). Pp. xxxiii, 68.

This is a reprint of the first edition with the addition of twelve introductory pages by Helmuth Thomas and also some additions to the notes by Thomas. The new editor has taken full advantage of the Ackermann investigations in the last two decades, especially the importance of the Czech Tkadlec for the text.

Kulturhistorisk Leksikon for nordisk Middelalder fra Vikingetid til Reformationstid, I, Abbed-Blide. Copenhagen, Rosenkilde og Bagger,

1956. Pp. x, 687. Dan. Kr. 48.

This indispensable reference work on all aspects of the Scandinavian Middle Ages contains contributions by mediaevalists in Denmark, Norway, Sweden, Finland, and Iceland, each, save the latter two, writing in his own language. There will be nine volumes and an index volume in the complete set. It has been in preparation for almost a quarter of a century.

P. Le Gentil. La Chanson de Roland. Paris, Hatier-Boivin, 1955. Pp. 190.

The semi-popular series "Connaissance des Lettres" has now added a résumé of what we know of the Chanson de Roland, compiled by Professor Le Gentil of the Sorbonne. There is a detailed study of the characters and composition of the poem, and there is appropriate consideration of the problem of origins of the Old French epic. In general, Le Gentil tends to follow J. Bédier, with the modifications necessitated by recent investigation.

Ralph Lowet. Wolfram von Eschenbachs Parzifal im Wandel der Zeiten. Munich, Pohl & Co., 1955 ("Schriftenreihe des Goethe-Instituts," 3). Pp. 215. DM. 14.00.

Lowet's work has three principal chapters, "Das Kyotproblem," "Die Vorgeschichte und das Gesamtwerk," and "Die ethisch-religiösen Ideen im Parzifal." Lowet, like most students of Parzifal, assumes that Wolfram used Chrétien for the most part, but also used other sources, even that called "Kyot" which he may have invented. There is a useful short bibliography of Parzifal literature during the last century.

Luigi Malagoli. Lo stile del Duecento. Pisa, Libreria Goliardica Editrice, 1956. Pp. 238.

This analysis of linguistic and stylistic elements in the literature of the Duecento offers many intimate glimpses into the basic characteristics of mediaeval Italian literary composition. Malagoli's ability to extract the fundamental semantic values from the texts he studies will be of considerable value to those who follow him.

Friedrich Maurer. Die politischen Lieder Walthers von der Vogelweide. Tübingen, Max Niemeyer Verlag, 1954. Pp. viii, 136. DM. 14.00.

The German lay and scholarly press was excited in 1954 by the discovery of Walther's genealogy in the records of the Bartholomäus-

Stift in Frankfurt a. M. At the same time this new work on Walther's political poetry shatters several time-honored opinions. Maurer examines the Sprüche in detail, from chronological, stylistic, and metrical standpoints, and the result is perhaps the most penetrating of all modern studies of the great Minnesinger.

Philippe de Mézières. The Life of Saint Peter Thomas. Ed. by Joachim Smet, O. Carm. Rome, Institutum Carmelitanum, 1954 ("Textus et Studia Historica Carmelitana," II). Pp. 242.

Philippe de Mézières was a native of Picardy who was chancellor at the court of Pierre de Lusignan, king of Cyprus in the fourteenth century. This life is interesting not only in the literature of hagiography but also for its implications, direct and indirect, for the history of the Near East after the Crusades.

Ladislaus Mittner. Wurd. Das Sakrale in der altgermanischen Epik. Bern, Francke, 1955 ("Bibliotheca germanica," VI). Pp. 204.

This is a valiant effort to identify the magic-religious elements in ancient Germanic poetry through characteristics of the grammar of the older dialects. The initial chapters, on kennings, are perhaps the most useful part of the work.

Angelo Monteverdi. Studi e saggi sulla letteratura italiana dei primi secoli. Milan and Naples, Riccardo Ricciardi editore, 1954. Pp. 320.

Lively and incisive, these studies of mediaeval Italian literature offer much insight into the literary and cultural history of pre-Renaissance Italy. All have been published before (one over forty years ago), but they are well worth re-reading.

Franco Munari, ed. Marci Valerii Bucolica. Florence, Vallecchi Editore, 1955 ("Collezione Filologica, Testi e Manuali," II). Pp. 103. L. 1, 200.

Munari has used an Erlangen manuscript for this edition of Valerius' poem, composed of a prologue, three Vergilian eclogues, and a Carmen Apollinis, all assigned by Munari to the latter half of the twelfth century. An earlier edition based on a Gotha manuscript (now possibly in Moscow) was made by Paul Lehmann in his "Bukolische Dichtungen," Miscellanea Mercati, IV (Vatican City, 1946), pp. 58-87.

Ovide moralisé en prose. Édition critique avec introduction par C. De Boer. Amsterdam, North-Holland Publishing Company, 1954

("Verhandelingen der Koninklijke Nederlandse Akademie van Wetenschappen," Afd. Letterkunde, Nieuwe Reeks, XLI, 2). Pp. 408. Fl. 18.

Composed sometime in 1466-67 for René d'Anjou by a Norman clerk of Angers, this book is one of the last examples of a didactical Ovid in the Middle Ages. This edition complements De Boer's monumental Ovide moralisé in five volumes (Amsterdam, 1915-38).

Thomas Peunter. Kunst des heilsamen Sterbens. Ed. by Rainer Rudolf. Bielefeld, Erich Schmidt Verlag, 1956 ("Texte des späten Mittelalters," 2). Pp. 99. DM. 6.80.

This first modern critical edition of an important work on the ars moriendi is addressed to the masses and tells much of the basic attitude of man toward the proximity of death in the late Middle Ages. Peunter's work is probably the first ars moriendi in German. Rudolf assumes a Latin source for it.

Hans Wolter. Ordericus Vitalis, ein Beitrag zur klunianzischen Geschichtsschreibung. Wiesbaden, Franz Steiner, 1944 ("Veröffentlichungen des Instituts für europäische Geschichte, Mainz," 7). Pp. viii, 252.

Hans Wolter, a German Jesuit, has attempted to make a broad synthesis of the life and influence of Orderic, who ranks with William of Malmesbury as one of the two great Anglo-Norman historians, but is not nearly so well known. Wolter was handicapped by the lack of a good modern critical text of Orderic, but nevertheless he manages to bring to life many stirring tales related by Orderic and to emphasize his skill as an historical analyst.

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BOOKS RECEIVED

Alfred Adler. Sens et composition du Jeu de la Feuillée. Ann Arbor:
The University of Michigan Press, 1957. Pp. 46. \$2.00.

Benjamin F. Bart. Flaubert's Landscape Descriptions. Ann Arbor:
The University of Michigan Press, 1957. Pp. vii, 70. \$2.50.

Walther Brüning. Deutsche Philosophie der Gegenwart. Córdoba
(Rep. Arg.), Universidad de Córdoba, 1955. Pp. 32.

Theodor Ebneter, ed. Poème sur les Signes Géomantiques en Ancien Provençal, publié d'après le manuscrit unique de la Bibliothèque Nationale de Paris. Olten, Urs Graf Verlag, 1955 ("Bibliotheca Helvetica Romana," 2). Pp. 129.

Eugen Geiger. Der Meistersgesang des Hans Sachs. Literarhistorische Untersuchung. Bern, Francke, 1956. Pp. 205.

Friedrich Panzer. Das Nibelungenlied. Entstehung und Gestalt. Stuttgart, W. Kohlhammer, 1955. Pp. 496.

Roy Pascal. The German Novel. Studies. Manchester, University Press, 1956. Pp. ix, 344.

Wolfgang Pollack. Die deutsche Sprache im Spiegel der französischen. Vienna, Wiener Sprachgesellschaft, 1955. Pp. 16.

Fritz Schalk. Diderots Essai über Claudio und Nero. Cologne, Westdeutscher Verlag, 1956 (Arbeitsgemeinschaft für Forschung des Landes Nordrhein-Westfalen, Geisteswissenschaften, "Abhandlungen," 39). Pp. 30.

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Archibald Kenneth Shields. The Madrid Stage, 1820-1833. Chapel Hill, N. C., 1933. 1 v. in 3 (1982, i.e., 981 p.) 28 cm. (Kentucky Microcards. Series A. Modern Languages Series. Sponsored by the South Atlantic Modern Language Association. No. 11)

This is a factual study of dramatic productions and companies in Madrid from 1820 to 1833, and of dramatic criticism for the last six years of that period.

There is included in the introduction a brief and tentative study of the epoch showing the preparation on the stage and in dramatic criticism for the advent of Romanticism.

Chapter I comprises a chronological list of dramatic productions, based upon theatrical announcements appearing in El Diario de Avisos, La Gaceta de Madrid, and El Correo Literario y Mercantil. Chapter II contains the lists of dramatic companies performing in Madrid. Chapter III gives in chronological order a list of newspaper articles dealing with the theatre, published in the Spanish capital from 1828 to 1833. In the preparation of the last chapter the separate works of Mariano José de Larra: El duende satírico del dia and El pobreclito hablador have been omitted, but with these exceptions the list of periodicals consulted is complete.

Following the body of the work are five indices. Index A is a bibliographical index to all plays listed in Chapter I, arranged alphabetically and including a synopsis of the presentations of the work throughout the period, and, when available, contemporary manuscripts and editions, notes concerning its authorship or origin, and contemporary critical references to it. B is an index to authors, translators, and adapters referred to in Index A. Index C lists the actors referred to in Chapter II. D indexes according to subject matter the critical articles considered in Chapter III, while Index E lists the authors of those articles. - From Research in Progress (July, 1932-July, 1933).

Linton Lomas Barrett. The Supernatural in Spanish Non-Religious comedia of the Golden Age. Chapel Hill, N. C., 1938. 276 p. 27 cm. (Kentucky Microcards. Series A. Modern Languages Series. Sponsored by the South Atlantic Modern Language Association. No. 12)

This is a study of the supernatural devices used in one hundred and fifteen representative comedias of the Siglo de Oro, selected from over nine hundred printed plays from the time of Juan de la Cueva to

the death of Calderón. Magic, a black art, and astrology, a science, are omitted, since they differ widely from other types of the supernatural and therefore should receive separate treatment.

Juan de la Cueva uses the supernatural freely but awkwardly. Less use of it is found in other pre-Lope de Vega dramatists, who are hardly more skillful than Cueva, even in isolated examples. In Lope de Vega technical skill in handling the supernatural reaches its peak, and in Guillén de Castro an equal degree of excellence appears in certain types. In Tirso de Molina the supernatural is poorly developed except in two plays, at least one of which has probably been reworked in its present form. Tirso shows surprisingly little care in this field. Alarcón affords scarcely an instance of the supernatural, and the other contemporaries of Lope fail to maintain the master's standards. Calderón's supernatural devices are the poorest of the whole period, and his contemporaries excel him only in isolated instances. In short, the supernatural improves tremendously from Cueva to Lope and Castro, appears at its best in Lope, and declines steadily to the death of Calderón.

A considerable difference between the various authors' manner of using the supernatural has been noted. It seems therefore that if considered with other criteria, the handling of the supernatural might be used as a partial basis for establishing the authorship of certain doubtful plays.

The appendices supply an index to the examples of supernatural types discussed, and a code index identifies the symbols for the plays cited. • From Research in Progress (October, 1937-October, 1938).

